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Historic Towns

CARLISLE

BY

M. CREIGHTON, M.A., D.C.L., LL.D.

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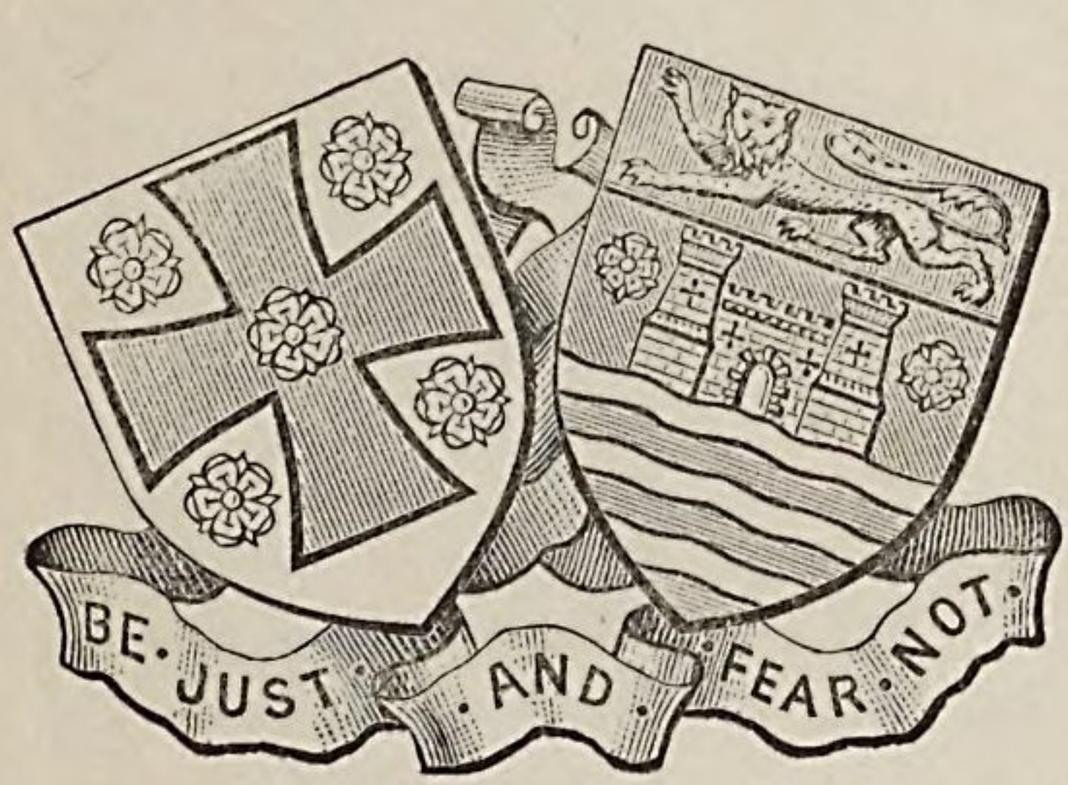
in the University of Cambridge



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PREFACE.

In the following pages I have treated Carlisle not merely as a town but as a centre of provincial life. The subject directly suggested such a mode of treatment; for round Carlisle the history of the Borders centres, and apart from its relations to the general condition of the Borders the civic history of Carlisle would lose its distinctive character. I have, however, striven not to wander unduly; and I have kept before myself, as the main object of this volume, the story of the development of town life under the circumstances in which the town was placed. It is not my fault that, in the case of Carlisle, these circumstances were not confined within the city walls, but depended on the political relations between England and Scotland, and the manner of life which grew up through Border warfare.

In endeavouring to keep a due proportion in my sketch I have omitted many details which are of purely local interest, and have preferred to deal with the importance of Carlisle in reference to our national history. My volume is written for the historical, and not for the antiquarian, student.

It is perhaps scarcely necessary to mention the various sources of information which I have consulted. The county histories by Binns and Nicolson, and by Hutchinson; Jeffreson's 'History of Carlisle,' and Ridpath's 'History of the Border' are standard sources of reference. But Carlisle is lucky in numbering amongst her citizens one who brings to the study of her institutions a trained mind and large historical knowledge. Under the guidance of Mr. R. S. Ferguson, the work done by the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian Society reaches a high order of merit, and the various documents edited by Mr. Ferguson for that society have been of the first importance, especially the 'Municipal Records of the City of Carlisle.' Further, Mr. Ferguson's 'Cumberland and Westmoreland M.P.s' has illustrated the politics of Carlisle. It is to be hoped that he will put together the results of his thorough investigations and produce a history of Carlisle which will be worthy of the importance of the subject.

Much as I have learned from books, I feel that I have learned more from many wanderings on foot through the Borderland. Its history is not to be gathered from records only, nor from the study of one particular place. Nowhere is the sentiment of the past so strong, not only in architectural monuments, but in the lives and characters of the people. It may be that, being a native of Carlisle, my sense of local patriotism may have occasionally misled me: but I do not think that my fellow townsmen, at all events, will be of that opinion.

M. CREIGHTON.

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CARLISLE.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY HISTORY.

No English city has a more distinctive character than Carlisle, and none can claim to have borne its character so continuously through the course of English history. Carlisle is still known as 'the Border City,' and though the term 'the Border' has no longer any historical significance it still denotes a district which has strongly marked peculiarities and retains a vigorous provincial life.

There was a time when the western Border was equally important with the Border on the north, when the fortress on the Dee had to be stoutly held against the foe, and when the town which rose among the scrub by the upper Severn was a place of conflict between contending races. But this struggle was not of long duration, and Chester and Shrewsbury ceased to be distinctly Border towns. On the north, however, the contest continued to be stubbornly waged, till it raised up a population inured to warfare, who carried the habits of a predatory life into a time when they were

mere survivals of a well-nigh forgotten past. Of this period of conflict Carlisle is the monument, and of this lawless life it was long the capital. Berwick-upon-Tweed alone could venture to share its glory or dispute its supremacy: but Berwick was scarcely a town; it was rather a military outpost, changing hands from time to time between the combatants; it was neither Scottish nor English, more than a castle but less than a town, an accidental growth of circumstances, scarcely to be classed as an element of popular life.

Carlisle, on the other hand, can trace its origin to times of venerable antiquity, and can claim through all its changes to have carried on in unbroken succession the traditions of an historic life. It was the necessary centre of a large tract of country, and whether its inhabitants were British or English its importance remained the same. It was not merely a military position, but a place of habitation, the habitation of a people who had to trust much to themselves and who amidst all vicissitudes retained a sturdy spirit of independence.

This, then, is the distinguishing feature of Carlisle; it is 'the Border City.' But, though this is its leading characteristic which runs through all its history, it has two other marks of distinction when compared with other English towns. It is the only town on English soil which bears a purely British name; and it is the only town which has been added to England since the Norman Conquest. Both these peculiarities are closely connected with its position on the Border, and tell of an early history which was removed from the ordinary influences which moulded the other towns of England.

As in the case of all ancient towns, it was the nature of the ground which marked out for the abode of men the spot where Carlisle now stands. Where the stately river of the Eden broadens out into the fertile plain which opens into the Solway Firth, two streams join it within a distance of less than a mile, the Caldew and the Petteril. Between them rises a gentle eminence, sloping upwards from the south and breaking northwards in a bluff of sandstone rock which falls abruptly towards the Eden. This was a spot which was naturally marked out for habitation as being both secure and commodious, and there in days before recorded history a tribe of the Brigantes made their home. The hill-top was secured by an earthwork, and from its summit the inhabitants could look down upon the marshy land through which the three streams lazily made their way towards the sea. North of the Eden rose a tract of higher land covered with brushwood; towards the south the marsh was broken here and there by eminences on which there were clearings for the pasturage of cattle.

Besides what we can learn from the site, the survival of the British name of the town shows that it was in early times a place of some importance. Caer Lywelydd, the town of Lywelydd (whether this was a tribal, or local, or personal name it would be hazardous to say), still bore its old name in altered shape through Roman and English occupation; and Luguvalio, Lugubalia, Caerluel, Carliel, Carlile, Carlisle, are only phonetic variations of the earliest form.

Such is the dim picture which we can draw for ourselves of the unrecorded history of the folk who huddled in their round huts of clay upon the rock where the Castle of Carlisle now stands. It is with the conquest of Caius Julius Agricola that the northern parts of our island first come into the ken of human records. The Roman conquerors of Britain gradually advanced northwards, extending constantly the limits of the province; but it was Agricola who definitely determined the limits of Roman occupation, and in doing so turned the hill with its British huts into a Roman town, and stamped upon that town its historical character.

Agricola had the eye of a general and the capacity of a statesman. After subduing the Ordovices and capturing their stronghold on the isle of Mona (Anglesey), he determined to advance northwards. Whether he started from the camp at Eboracum, or from the camp by the river Deva, we cannot say for certain. But it is very probable that he avoided the dangers of an inland march in a rugged country and advanced along the western coast, where the forests ceased as they neared the sea, by the estuaries of the Mersey, the Ribble, and the sands of Cartmell, to the Solway Frith. He was careful to make good every step of his progress and keep open his communications. The trees fell before the axe of the legionary, and a rude but sufficient road was opened. Every night the Roman camp was occupied in some secure position, and every day saw a steady advance of the invader. The Britons, after a few skirmishes, retired into the interior, despairing of overcoming the persistency of their foes.

When he had arrived at the Solway, Agricola proceeded eastwards, establishing a chain of forts by which he could secure his hold of the country. The Britons doubtless fled from their hill of Caer Lywelydd as the Roman troops drew nigh, and Agricola does not seem to have occupied their settlement, but chose in preference, as a surer outpost towards the north, the opposite bank of the river, where now stands the village of Stanwix. He continued his march eastwards till he reached the mouth of the Tyne, and discovered by this march the narrowness of the island between the Tyne and the Solway. Then he saw that the military stations by which he marked his progress might serve a more abiding purpose than that of guarding a line of march. He saw that they might easily be combined to form a frontier, and he gave orders that their earthworks should be carefully strengthened, so as to hold small garrisons in safety.

After a short interval Agricola again began his explorations farther northwards. He advanced as far as the Frith of Tay, again carefully planting his forts. So skilful was he in the selection of their sites that, Tacitus tells us, no one of them was ever captured by the foe or deserted by its garrison. As he had secured his first advance by a line of forts extending inland from the Solway across the island, he applied the same policy to the narrower isthmus which he discovered between the Forth and the Clyde, so that his enemies 'were driven almost into another island.' Farther still Agricola advanced till he reached the Grampian Hills, where the northern tribes gathered themselves together for desperate resistance. The Romans were victorious,

but their losses were heavy. The nature of the country may well have made Agricola doubt if farther advance were practicable for his army. In the spirit of an explorer he sent his fleet to coast round Britain, and this circumnavigation first informed the Romans with certainty that Britain was an island. Any schemes that Agricola may have formed for the complete conquest of the land were brought to an end by his recall to Rome in 84 A.D. None of his successors thought it worth while to carry the Roman arms beyond the point that Agricola had reached. To his campaigns we may trace the formation of that Border Land of which Carlisle may be regarded as the capital. Agricola's two lines of forts, the first uniting the Solway and the Tyne, the second uniting the Forth and the Clyde, enclosed a district which in the Roman days was a subject of debate between Romans and Britons, and which for centuries continued to be the battle-field of English and Scots.

Agricola had sketched out two lines of frontier, but had not decided which was to be held, and the question which he raised was left unsolved by his successors. The Roman occupation of Britain aimed at profit; the Roman colonist wished to be left in peaceable possession of the fertile lands, and the Roman government had no interest in doing more than was necessary to secure quiet to the colonist. As the Romans advanced northwards they found that the Vale of York was the farthest region which it was economically worth their while to occupy. Beyond it the high cold plateau which forms the county of Durham and the hills of Cumberland and Westmoreland had no attractions for

the settler. The valley of the Tyne was more hopeful, but northwards again extended moorland and uncleared forest and the barrier of the Cheviot Hills; and again beyond the Tweed the same features were repeated. The question was, Where was Rome to draw her frontier most conveniently for her own interest? Was it to be the upper or the lower line of Agricola's forts? Beyond them no one was bold enough to wish to penetrate.

An answer was given to this problem by the visit in 120 of the great Emperor Hadrian, who was animated by a restless desire to see for himself the empire over which he ruled. He was a mighty builder, and everywhere he left his mark upon the provinces. In Britain it was not the monument of a luxurious civilisation, the bath or the amphitheatre, which he left behind him; it was a barrier for the protection of the northern frontier. It would seem that the forts of Agricola were maintained with difficulty against watchful foes, and that the tribes north and south of the Tyne and Solway were not crushed by Roman arms and could not be absorbed in Roman civilisation. They were ready to join for common raids, and frequently escaped the vigilance of the military watchers and carried confusion into the Roman province.

Hadrian ordered that the forts of Agricola along the Tyne and the Irthing should be connected with one another, so as to form a permanent rampart which should divide Romans and barbarians by an impassable boundary. This was to be done without prejudice to the existence of the Roman occupation as far as the farther line between the Clyde and the Forth. The

Roman province was to reach in full security as far as the Tyne and the Solway; the influence thus secured might be trusted to carry the province farther north in good time. The southern line might be abandoned for the northern, but the first step was that the southern line should be made so unmistakably strong as to crush all hopes from the hearts of the rebellious Britons.

The work which Hadrian commanded was executed with thoroughness. For a space of seventy-three miles a huge Wall of stone, strengthened by a deep ditch in front, warded off the attacks of the northern barbarians; at the same time an earthwork, strongly secured by ramparts and a ditch, secured the defenders of the Wall against any surprise in the rear. Let the attack be from the north or south, the Roman soldiers were safely entrenched. If the Britons on the north succeeded in forcing the Wall at some point, they would not therefore be able to dislodge its defenders. A joint attack from north and south at once could be resisted; even if it were successful at one place, its success could be but partial. It could end in nothing but a plundering raid, not in a serious disaster.

About the moot-points concerning the date of the various works which formed the barrier, and of their relations with one another, our subject does not require that we should go into details. It is enough to gain a general conception of this mighty series of military outposts and their effect upon the character of the district through which they ran. In some cases the forts of Agricola sufficed as stations for the Roman garrison; more frequently new stations were built. Twenty-three of these stations were planted along the

line of the Wall, differing in size and importance, but all constructed on the same plan. A stone wall, five feet thick, enclosed a quadrangular area which varied from three to five acres in extent. In the middle of each side of the wall was a gateway admitting to a street, eighteen feet wide, which ran straight to the opposite gate. Thus the station was marked out symmetrically by its main streets into four nearly equal parts; the other streets were narrow passages, often only three feet wide, serving merely as means of communication from one building to another. The buildings were small and crowded closely together; but the more important stations had halls for public business, and, it may be, small market-places. These stations were merely barracks, constructed permanently in stone on the same plan as was the camp which the Roman soldiers on a march erected every night for their shelter.

Each of these stations was garrisoned by a cohort of six hundred soldiers. But to make the watch and ward complete the distance of four miles or thereabouts between the stations was occupied by castles placed at a distance of about a Roman mile, or seven furlongs, from one another. They were strong quadrangular buildings abutting on the Wall, about sixty feet by fifty, with massive gateways on the north and south. They may have contained wooden sheds which sufficed to protect the garrison against the weather; but it seems probable that they were mere guard-houses, supplied from the neighbouring station, though capable of affording shelter against an attack in time of need. The space between these mile-castles was, again, occupied by

watch-towers, placed every three hundred yards. These watch-towers were stone sentry-boxes, some eight feet square, where soldiers were posted on guard.

Thus the whole space of seventy-three miles, which formed the Roman frontier, was patrolled day and night by sentinels, who could pass on the signal of an impending attack to bodies of troops which were easily accessible. The Wall was the means of linking together this military chain. It bound watch-tower with watch-tower, and its battlements could rapidly be manned to resist an onslaught of barbarians from the north. It was built with a mighty solidity which still excites our wonder, being about eighteen feet high and eight feet broad. Moreover its height was increased in front by a ditch which averaged fifteen feet deep and was thirty-five feet wide. Straight across the country went this mighty rampart, making directly from shore to shore, yet occupying the highest ground for outlook towards the north; scaling the summit of the basaltic cliffs, and when it had to descend into a defile making straight up the hillside again until it reached the summit.

The constant, though not inseparable, companion of the Wall was the Vallum, or earthen rampart, which commanded the approaches from the south. A double line of earthworks enclosed a ditch between them, and the southern edge of the ditch was still further protected by a smaller rampart added to increase its strength. These ramparts, formed of earth mixed with masses of stone, still stand six or seven feet above the neighbouring soil; but the ditch seems to have been somewhat smaller than that which guarded the approach to the wall. There are no openings in the line of the Vallum,

so that communication even from the south was only possible through the gateways of the stations.

Wall and Vallum, strong as they might be, were useless unless they were guarded. For their defence free communication was necessary between all the points on this long line of frontier. In a military sense Wall and Vallum alike were mainly useful as a means of securing the Road which passed between them from castle to castle, along which the troops could march unimpeded to any point where their presence was required. So the threefold system of Wall, Vallum, and Road went on side by side, keeping as close to one another as was consistent with the full discharge by each of its primary object. The Wall, as being the defence on the north, selected the highest ground northwards; the Vallum in like manner turned its face towards the south; between them ran the Road, making its way by easy gradients from castle to castle. Where the ground is level the three works go on in close companionship; in the hilly ground the Wall and Vallum keep half a mile apart, while the Road keeps its own course between them.

A sense of the greatness of these works is only to be gained by one who has the time and the patience to pursue their fragmentary remains and reconstruct for himself a picture of the massive activity of the distant past. Save at its two ends, in the neighbourhood of Newcastle and Carlisle, the region through which the Roman Wall passed is now thinly populated. The course of modern trade has not come near it, and in the district where most of it survives only a scattered house breaks here and there the solitude of the scene. In the

populous England of to-day a strange sense of the vicissitudes of human affairs comes to the mind of one who sees the desolate hillsides covered with the traces of dense habitation and with the relics of a rich civilisation. The supply of food for the soldiers necessitated the presence of a number of civil officials near every station. Round the military settlement rose a town of some importance, where camp-followers congregated, whither traders brought their wares, and where the villas of the chief officers arose with all the comfort which wealth could minister. A permanent garrison of 15,000 soldiers drew with it a large population, and heavily laden wagons rolled in quick succession along the Road, which is now grass-grown. The line of the Wall must have been one of the most thickly inhabited parts of Roman Britain.

According to the Roman system of employing auxiliary forces away from their own homes, the troops that manned the Wall were of divers nationalities. Frisians, Batavians, Dalmatians, Dacians, Spaniards, and Gauls helped Rome to keep in subjection a people not so thoroughly conquered as themselves. In the damp climate of northern Britain these natives of the south shivered in dismay. They found such amusement as they could in hunting deer and wild boars in the forests that lay around. They discovered coal, and used it in some places to warm their houses; but Britain produced no oil for their lamps, and the long winter nights, spent almost in entire darkness, must have hung heavily on their hands.

The construction of this Wall altered the whole aspect of the country round the town of Lywelydd. The

Britons who remained when this great influx of the Romans took place were doubtless compelled to labour at the work of building, though this was mainly the work of the Roman legionaries themselves. A few miles from Carlisle, by the little stream of the Gelt, a tributary of the Eden, is inscribed on the face of the rock overhanging the water a legend, which tells how 'a vexillation of the second legion under an optio Agricola hewed stones in the consulship of Flavius Aper and Albinus Maximus' (207 A.D.) Strange and impressive stand out these bold letters, the work of some Roman soldier in his hours of idleness, a memorial of a far-off episode in the history of our land. No wonder that Tennyson regards them as a model of all other inscriptions—

> In letters like to those the vexillary
> Hath left crag-carven o'er the streaming Gelt.

The site of the town of Lywelydd marked it out for Roman occupation. The course of the Wall would naturally end where the Solway Firth had broadened into a natural barrier. But the estuary of the Eden river was ill-defined, and even when it had become broad the water was low at ebb tide. It was necessary that the Wall should be continued far enough down the coast to prevent assailants from landing unobserved and attacking it in the flank. It ended in the promontory of Bowness, where the waters of the Solway definitely join the Irish Channel. To reach this point the Wall had to cross the river Eden, and the natural spot for this transit was just where the river ceased to be tidal. For this purpose the neighbourhood of Lugubalia, as

the Romans called Lywelydd town, offered marked advantages. On the hill north of the river was built the Roman station, in the village which now bears the name of Stanwix. Thence the Wall, carried on a bridge across the river, and avoiding the hill of Lugubalia, made for the high ground to the west, and thence followed the river bank for some distance.

Thus Lugubalia itself was not converted into a military station, but became the civil town attached to the station of Stanwix. Southward along the coast a chain of forts extended, apparently to prevent the possibility of a landing of enemies within the line of the Wall. Between them and Lugubalia were supporting stations, and connecting all these ran a network of roads which converged in Lugubalia. Thither also came a branch of the great road which went northward from Eboracum to Cataractorium (Catterick), where it divided into two, and its western branch passed through Lugubalia to the Clyde. So Lugubalia was probably the seat of a considerable population, partly officials, partly traders. It was a place where there was a good deal of civic comfort, even of civic luxury. As late as Cuthbert's time the walls of the Roman town and the fountain which the Romans had made were objects of wonder and pride to the townsmen. They have, however, all been swept away, and we can reconstruct no picture of Lugubalia. A few coins, a few altars, and a few pieces of pottery are all that remain to tell us of Roman civilisation in the Border town.

The strange thing was that, in spite of the building of the Wall, Lugubalia still remained a Border town. It is true that Rome made an attempt to extend her

frontier to the Forth and the Clyde by drawing a connected line of earthworks to bind together her forts. But this claim of the land north of the Solway as Roman ground seems to have met with stubborn resistance. The Britons of the north had learned the meaning of Roman rule, and banded themselves together to withstand its extension over themselves. They knew that it meant the forced conscription and the tax-gatherer. Their sons would be drafted to man the forts in the Pyrenees and the Balkans; the Roman colonists would seize the best part of their land; what was left to them would be subject to the tribute and the tithe of corn. It is no wonder that they resolved to take advantage of their impenetrable jungles and moorland valleys to resent to the utmost the imposition of Rome's chain around their necks. It needed the energy of another emperor, Septimius Severus, in 208, to drive back the Caledonians, carry roads through the jungle in which their strongholds were concealed, and build up again the northern barrier between the Forth and the Clyde. Then for a time there seems to have been peace, and the discipline of the Roman province prevailed in the district between the two lines of frontier.

The peace was broken in the middle of the fourth century. The dwellers beyond the northern wall formed themselves into a confederacy which the Romans called the Picts, and, aided by the Scots, who came from Ireland, they broke through the northern barrier and devastated the lands of the province. From this time onwards the district between the Walls was a scene of much fighting, and to this period we may assign the traces of severe struggles to which the remnants of the

southern Wall still bear witness. But Rome was suffering from decay and the limits of the Empire were shrinking before the stress of general bankruptcy. The defence of the frontier became weaker and weaker, till the troops of Rome were needed to guard the approaches to the capital itself. In 409 the cities of Britain were bidden to provide for their own defence, and the Roman garrisons marched away from the line of the Wall, which was thenceforth left deserted. Its stations, being built solely for military purposes, were abandoned, and its mighty buildings fell into gradual decay.

Lugubalia, however, was not a military station, but had an existence of its own, and in the change which followed on the withdrawal of the Roman army the position of Lugubalia made it still a most important place. The Britons who dwelt around the Wall had been under the influence of Rome, but had not been absorbed by it. Their nationality was not destroyed, and their courage had been increased and disciplined by contact with the Roman soldiery. They united to repel the attacks of other invaders, and Lugubalia was in a sense their capital.

How this confederacy of the Cymry fought to maintain itself against the invaders—the Picts, the Scots, and afterwards the English, who began to make their settlements on the eastern coast—we have no certain knowledge. We only gather that, in the long period of warfare against the English, the Britons fought bravely and were strong in a feeling of nationality. This national feeling took shape in a mythology, which may have had an historical basis in the past or may have expressed merely the military

ideal of the race. The legend, however, of Arthur seems to have been the possession of the Celtic race, though it took new forms and was localised afresh wherever the race was hard pressed in conflict with a fierce enemy. We need not claim for the Borderland the possession of an historic Arthur to the exclusion of the claims of Brittany, or Wales, or Cornwall. The Arthurian legend was common to them all, and Arthur's Seat, and Chair, and Round Table are all to be found within a few miles of Carlisle, the Cardueil of Arthurian romance.

Still, despite their brave struggles, the Cumbrian Britons did not show such capacity for union as did their English foes. In the middle of the sixth century the English tribes were welded together into the kingdom of Bernicia, while the Britons seem to have been distracted by internal dissensions of chiefs who strove for mastery. These dissensions were ended, disastrously for Caerluel, by a great battle which was fought at Ardderyd, or Arthuret, on the river Esk, some eight miles north of the town. This battle, which is famous in Welsh tradition, gave the headship of the Cumbrian confederacy to the chief of a tribe whose seat lay westward. The conqueror fixed his head-quarters on a rock which overhangs the Clyde, called by the Welsh Alclud, now known as Dumbarton (Dunbrettan, or the fort of the Britons). Henceforth Caerluel was no longer the centre of the Cumbrian Britons, whose kingdom was called, after its capital, the kingdom of Strathclyde.

The power of the Strathclyde Britons was not enough to resist the arms of the English of Bernicia, whose king, Ethelfrith, in 605 inflicted a crushing defeat

upon the combined armies of the Scots, the Britons, and the Picts at a place which Bede calls Degsastan, probably our Dawstane Burn, at the head of Liddesdale. This battle decided the supremacy of the Northumbrian English over their neighbours in Cumberland. They were, however, content with a supremacy and did not pursue a career of conquest. They had no wish to annex at once unprofitable territory, but gradually pushed their settlements along the valley of the Irthing and then occupied the central plain of modern Cumberland, which bore the name of Inglewood, or the wood of the English. The result of this policy was to divide the kingdom of Strathclyde by a wedge of settlers driven into its midst.

It would lead us far from our subject to tell the story of the early greatness of the Northumbrian kingdom and the spread of a fair form of Christian civilisation under the guidance of missionaries from Iona. It is enough for our purpose to show how the Northumbrian supremacy influenced the district round Caerluel. King Egfrith, who ascended the Northumbrian throne in 670, subdued the Britons between the Duddon and the Solway, and established amongst them clergy from Northumberland, who had now accepted the Roman usages, in the place of the clergy of the British Church. It would seem that Egfrith's desire was to unite the Britons of the west with the English of the east on the basis of a common ecclesiastical organisation. The Church had been the strength of the Northumbrian kingdom, and the Northumbrian Church had, at the Synod of Whitby, seen the political wisdom of abandoning local usage for a more organised

system. It had done so without losing its own characteristics, chief amongst which was the missionary monasticism which it had inherited from its Columban teachers. Of this monasticism King Egfrith's sister Elfled was a prime promoter: she had founded twelve convents in the Bernician kingdom and carried on her settlements in Cumberland. Caerluel was chosen as a centre of Elfled's activity in the west, and there a monastery of some importance was set up.

It was in pursuance of this policy of using ecclesiastical organisation as a bond of political union that when the saintly Cuthbert was made Bishop of Lindisfarne in 684 Egfrith committed to his charge the monastery of Caerluel, and gave the town to his spiritual jurisdiction. A new career now seemed to be opened to the town, which was still dignified by the remains of Roman civilisation. Already the Northumbrian Church had given the Pictish land a bishop, whose seat was at Whithern. Caerluel, in close dependence on the see of Lindisfarne, graced with a monastery of royal foundation, and hailing as its lord the saintly Cuthbert, was to bring the Cumbrian Britons to a reverent allegiance to the Northumbrian Church and crown.

This scheme, however, fell with the downfall of the Northumbrian kingdom, which was brought on by the overweening ambition of King Egfrith. Stung by the ravages of the Picts on his northern border, he resolved to pursue them to their mountain fastnesses, and set out upon his expedition in spite of the warning of his more prudent advisers. His queen retired during her husband's absence to the nunnery of Caerluel, to await

the results of the expedition, and thither went Cuthbert to console her. The record of his visit gives us a pleasant picture of a civilisation not unlike our own to-day. The townsmen were anxious to do honour to their bishop, and the town-reeve escorted him to see the sights of the town. He showed him the walls which the Romans had built, and he asked him to admire the wondrous workmanship of a Roman fountain which was still standing. But Cuthbert's heart was heavy with forebodings of disaster, and he paid scanty heed to the talk of his entertainer. He stood by the fountain and leaned on his staff with an absent face; presently he lifted his head and murmured, 'Perchance even now the conflict is decided.' Next day a solitary soldier, who had managed to escape from the slaughter, brought the news that Egfrith and his army had been lured by the Picts into the defiles of the Grampians, where the flower of Northumberland had been cut off almost to a man.

This defeat marked the downfall of the Northumbrian power. 'From that time,' says Beda, 'the hopes and strength of the kingdom of the English began to ebb.' The Scots of Dalriada and the Britons of Strathclyde shook off their subjection. Cumberland and Galloway were for a time recovered, but drifted away again, and their records are obscure. The invasions of the Danish pirates completed the work of disorganisation, and though the east was the first to suffer the plunderers soon spread to the west. So great was the disorder in Northumberland that the Bishop of Lindisfarne fled from his island home, and carried with him the holy relic of St. Cuthbert's body, for which his monks

vainly sought a resting-place. Nine years they wandered disconsolately through the region which the saint had known, and amongst other places they visited Caerluel, where such disorder prevailed that the abbot of the monastery despaired of the future of his abbey and joined the fugitives. We do not know whether this was before or after the sacking of Caerluel by the Danes, but about the year 875 they overspread the western district, sacked and burned Caerluel, and left it scarcely inhabitable. For the next two centuries the once stately town, fortress, and monastery alike were laid low.

We can only discern through the darkness caused by the want of recorded history that Cumberland was ravaged by the Danes, and also received a considerable influx of population from settlements of the Northmen. When next we hear of it the victories of the West Saxon kings over the invaders in the south brought their conquering arms northwards. In 924 the kings of the Scots, the Northumbrians, and Strathclyde submitted to the overlordship of the West Saxon Edward. Still they were rebellious vassals, and in 945 Edmund advanced into Cumberland and slew its king, Dunmail, so tradition says, at the place which bears the name of Dunmail Raise. After this victory Edmund gave Cumberland to Malcolm, King of the Scots, on condition that he should be his 'fellow-worker by land and sea.' Edmund saw that if the Danes were to be rendered harmless, they must be cut off from Scottish help. He recognised the Scottish king as a dependent ally, who had a common interest in checking the turbulence of the Danes, and whose position

rendered him the fittest ruler of the mixed population which occupied the southern part of the Strathclyde. So it came about that Caerluel, which had been successively a Roman, British, and English town, became Scottish in its turn.

These changes marked epochs of diminishing importance as regards the town itself. Under the Romans Lugubalia was the chief centre of civil habitation along the line of the Wall; under the Britons it was the capital of the confederate tribes which lay between the Derwent and the Clyde. In the days of the Northumbrian supremacy Caerluel, rich in memories of the past, still remained the ecclesiastical capital of the central part of this district. In the troubled times which followed, it was of little account; it was pillaged and wasted; its walls were destroyed; its antiquities crumbled away; its monastery was neglected; its population dwindled. As a dependency of the Scottish kingdom it did not revive. New life only came to it when it was incorporated once more into the English kingdom, which under the Norman kings advanced upon a new career.

CHAPTER II.

CARLISLE AN ENGLISH CITY. 1092–1158.

THE story which has been told in the previous chapter is introductory to the real history of Carlisle. It only shows that the rock which shelves towards the Eden was a site which offered natural advantages not to be overlooked at any period of human habitation. But the vicissitudes of the history of the town on the Eden mark the existence of a problem which would require solution—the problem of the exact boundaries of the English kingdom. Hitherto they had been undetermined; no ruler had been strong enough to fix a definite frontier; no power had been sufficiently organised to mark out the limits of its sway and give a meaning to the principles on which its dominion rested. Carlisle had witnessed a series of changing experiments. The time was approaching when experiments were to end, and Carlisle was to enter upon its historical position as the Border fortress of the English kingdom.

This was the doing of William Rufus, who, in spite of the many faults of his character as a man and as a king, was in no sense a weak ruler, and was not destitute of purpose in what he did. William the Conqueror made it clear to the sullen and rebellious people of the north that he intended to rule England as

his predecessors had done, and that he would endure no separate kingdom of northern England. William Rufus went a step further, and showed that he meant to be king of England with a definiteness which none of his predecessors had dared to claim. He marked out the Welsh border, and he marked out the Scottish border as well. Hitherto Caerluel had wavered between divers masters; William Rufus would have it waver no more, but claimed it decidedly as English ground. In so doing he practically called it into new being; for it was little better than a heap of ruins and scarcely fit to be the abode of men. It had not prospered under the care of its Scottish overlord. The Northumbrian earls were strong enough to win back from him in some shape or other part of the old possessions of the Northumbrian kingdom. It may be that the Scottish kings thought little of their southern dependency. Anyhow in the year 1092 the district round Carlisle was held by an Englishman, Dolfin, son of the Northumbrian earl Gospatric. What Dolfin had done to draw the wrath of Rufus upon him we know not; but in the year 1092 the King 'went northward with a great army, and set up the walls of Caerluel, and reared the Castle, and drove out Dolfin, who ruled the land, and garrisoned the Castle, and went south again. Then he sent many peasant-folk with their wives and cattle to dwell in the land and till it.'

Such is the story of the refounding of Caerluel. We gather from it that the town lay in ruins and the district was scarcely populated. William Rufus called it once more into being. He built its walls and set up its Castle; he left there a garrison and then colonised the

town with hard-working folk from the south. Yet low as the old town had fallen, it had not entirely disappeared. It still retained its old name, so clearly and distinctly that William did not find it necessary to change it. The old British name had outlived the Roman occupation and reappeared in slightly altered guise. Lugubalia had become Caerluel, and such, with slight differences, it has remained. We may gather from this that the site of the town was not entirely deserted, that the memories of the past were not entirely forgotten, that though the district might be miserable and poor, the scanty population still looked in some way to the old town as the centre of their common life. When William Rufus set it up again, when Normans took up their abode among the mixed population of modern Cumberland, when men from the south were sent to form the elements of a more settled civic life, they found a local feeling which was strong enough to command their respect. They had no temptation to attempt to make a new beginning; they were content to graft the new upon the old. It was not a settlement which had to start entirely afresh, but only a revival.

So Carlisle was to begin a new life after the model of other civic communities as they were in the days of the Norman kings. Foremost among their appliances was the Castle, whose keep towered above the houses which clustered round it—towered as a menace to the rebellious and as an earnest of protection to the well-disposed. Perhaps the new population of Carlisle needed no reminder of the power of their royal master, and the Castle of Carlisle was more frankly built for protection and

security than any other castle which Rufus reared. It occupied the site of the old castle, a site which nature had marked out for the purpose, and the houses sloped down the hillside behind it.

We cannot suppose that the Castle was built in any haste, or that its building was projected on any large scale. It was rather to be a rallying-place for a population in the future than a protection of a population already existing. It was not, indeed, a castle at all, but only a tower strong in its position and strong by the solidity of its walls, a tower facing northwards and designed as an advanced post to keep watch and ward over the Scots. There was no thought of a walled town elaborately guarded by a castle, for indeed there was no town to defend. Workmen had to be sent to build the tower, Flemish masons who were well skilled at their task, and many of them remained when their work was done and helped to swell the number of the folk who began slowly to gather round a spot which was rich in natural advantages. One of these Flemings, by name Botchardus, has left his name to the neighbouring hamlet of Botcherby. Besides the Flemings were families removed from the south, whose houses were destroyed by the Red King's zeal for the chase, for which he made the New Forest into a solitude and found for its inhabitants a new home in the northern outpost of his kingdom.

Mixed populations proverbially prosper. Carlisle was refounded in some way like a colony, and had from the beginning a mixture of the elements necessary for civic life. It would seem that this life soon made itself felt, and we can trace the development of the town in

the rapid growth of the isolated tower into a substantial castle.

Soon after the tower was finished it was judged necessary to turn it into a keep by enclosing the ground behind it on the hillside with a curtain wall, the irregular shape of which shows that it was an afterthought. This enclosure greatly added to the strength of the Castle. The strong tower was only the abode of a small permanent garrison and a place of refuge against a sudden attack. Doubtless it was surrounded by a wooden stockade, which might serve as a shelter for men and cattle in case of a sudden raid by the Scots. But when this stockade was replaced by a strong wall of stone the Castle could endure a siege from an invading army, and the garrison could summon to their help in time of need reinforcements from elsewhere and provide them quarters in temporary sheds erected against the wall. The wall itself with its battlements and gallery could easily be held by a small force against a considerable army of assailants.

William II. claimed Carlisle and the adjacent lands as English ground, and did something towards favouring the development of the district. Henry I. thought fit to organise it for military defence in the same way as the borderlands of Wales, by setting over it an earl, who within his district was entrusted with all the rights of the Crown as regards land-tenure and jurisdiction. The eastern side of the Scottish border was handed over in this way to the Bishop of Durham, after one or two experiments had shown that a lay Earl of Northumberland was likely to become a dangerous person to the Crown. There was no such great eccle-

siastic on the western side, and Henry I., not without misgivings, set up an Earl of Carlisle. For this office he chose a Norman, Ranulf de Brichsard, Viscount of the Bressin, a man well known and trusted by the King. This Ranulf was generally known as Le Meschyn, or the younger, and was the nephew of Hugh of Avranches, whom the Conqueror had sent to rule the Welsh border as Earl of Chester.

Of Earl Ranulf's activity we do not find much recorded. He took the obvious step of providing for the defence of the Borderland by portioning it out into three baronies, which he granted to trusty men. In this way he imitated on a small scale the policy of the Crown. Henry I. had given Ranulf the earldom of Carlisle because it was too far off and too doubtful a possession for himself to manage efficiently. In like manner Ranulf committed to others the dangerous frontiers of his territory, and kept in his own hands the better guarded lands which lay behind them. Thus he formed the baronies of Gilsland and Lyddale to guard the passes which led from Scotland by land, and the barony of Brough to guard the approach to Carlisle by the estuary of the Solway. The barony of Gilsland he gave to his brother William; but it was a barren grant, for William was not able to get his lands out of the hands of the Scots. Their Scottish lord, Gill the son of Bueth, held them till his death, and left his name to the district which he so stoutly held, so that when in aftertimes the land was given to another Norman lord it was described as 'that which Gill the son of Bueth had held,' and so was known as Gilsland.

The only other act which is recorded of Earl Ranulf

shows that he was alive to the fact that monastic settlement must go side by side with military occupation if civilisation were to flourish. Four miles below Carlisle, on the bank of the Eden, he established a Benedictine priory at a place called Wetheral, then a clearing in the dense forest which fringed the rocky banks of the river. This priory never grew to much importance, and was a dependency of the great house of St. Mary at York. Nevertheless it drove a wedge of monastic civilisation into the lands which lay south of Carlisle, and acted in a way as a supporting station along the river.

However, the activity of Earl Ranulf in Carlisle did not last very long; for the wreck of the 'White Ship' in 1119, besides carrying off the King's only son, swept away the flower of the English nobility, and amongst others the young Earl of Chester. His cousin Ranulf was a fit man to take his place, and gladly exchanged his poor earldom of Carlisle for the richer prize of the great earldom of Chester. No new earl was sent to succeed him; perhaps because Henry I. had grown more doubtful of the policy of creating earldoms and more confident in the possibility of using officials directly dependent on the Crown. This decision greatly affected the future of Carlisle, which was not to become the chief town of a county palatine, and have its development hampered by its consequent isolation from the main current of national life. At the time no doubt the loss of its earldom seemed to be a serious disadvantage. The lands of the earldom were divided, and the southern portion of the barony of Appleby formed part of the county of Westmoreland. The residue was por-

tioned out into five new baronies, besides the three which Earl Ranulf had created, and the eight baronies together made up the county of Carlisle. And over it was set a sheriff, as in the case of other counties, who collected the King's dues and guarded the King's rights within its limits.

There was, however, another side of the reorganisation of Carlisle and its neighbourhood which Henry I. also pursued. Besides the Castle there was another more important instrument of civilisation, and that was the Church. We have seen that the town of Carlisle ecclesiastically belonged to the patrimony of St. Cuthbert, and it contained an ancient parish church, which was dedicated to that saint. Most probably at the time when William II. drove out Dolfin the Church had but a shadowy existence. It was natural that when Carlisle was refounded its ecclesiastical life should begin to revive; and a Norman named Walter, who was in the King's service in some capacity, is said to have laid the foundations of a monastery at the time when the Castle was first built. It would seem that his work did not advance very quickly, nor was William Rufus the man to show much liberality in church-building; but when Henry I. took into his own hands the county of Carlisle he finished Walter's struggling foundation and marked his sense of the growing importance of Carlisle by committing its new Church to a new order of canons and giving them as their head a man who stood high in his confidence.

The priests who were sent to Carlisle were members of a religious order which had just made its appearance in England; they were canons of the Order of St. Augus-

tine. This order was a revival of the rule for a common life which had been laid down by the great Latin Father St. Augustine of Hippo; and its revival met the conditions of the time. Cathedrals and great churches in early times had been served by colleges of secular priests who in England had fallen short of the discipline which the Normans were accustomed to see observed. The English canons lived in separate houses, were in many cases married men with families, and showed none of the features of a common life apart from the world. Attempts had long been made to reform them, but they were useless, till at last the reformers found that their simplest plan was to get rid of the canons and fill their places with monks. Thus many of the English cathedrals were served by monks of the Benedictine order, though in others the canons had been allowed to remain. The revived order of Augustinian Canons was an attempt to set up an order which should combine the advantages of monasticism with those of a secular college. They had a rule of life, but it was more elastic than that of the monastic orders, and could be modified to suit the exact work which the community had to discharge. The Austin Canons lived together, having a common dwelling, common meals, and common possessions, so that they might not drift off to a purely secular life.

This new order corresponded to the needs of English society, and rapidly became popular under the patronage of Queen Matilda, so that many houses of Austin Canons were founded. When Henry I. undertook the care of the foundation at Carlisle, he gave it to the Austin Canons, and dedicated the new church, which

was perhaps fit for use in 1118, to the honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary. For the maintenance of the Canons he gave them the churches of Newcastle-on-Tyne and Newburn, together with four others which were to fall in on the death of his chaplain Richard de Aurivalle—Warkworth, Whittingham, Corbridge, and Rothbury. This was a common way of endowing monasteries and colleges of priests; it was a rude means of equalising ecclesiastical revenues and providing for current needs. Monastic or collegiate corporations were judged to be the best agencies for raising the standard of spiritual life and promoting social well-being. No doubt a body of men devoted to God's service upheld in those rude days the cause of religion and of learning more efficiently than did the parish priest, who in wild regions was too likely to fall to the level of the secular life around him. In many cases the old possessions of the Church were more than was needed for such a man, and only served to attract the cupidity of his neighbours, from whom he was powerless to defend them. They were more secure under the guardianship of a powerful corporation, and that corporation was better able to act as overseer of the parish than was a lay patron. Accordingly it was the fashion to found monasteries and collegiate churches and endow them out of the revenues of the Church by handing over to them the tithes of several parishes, and leaving them to provide for the services of the churches and divert the rest of the income to their own uses. In this way it came about that the Church of Newcastle was dependent on the canons of Carlisle, who were maintained at first out of the revenues of

Northumbrian parishes. Besides this the King granted them other rights, which in time became valuable; he gave them a fishery in the Eden and a mill upon the bridge. Other landowners followed upon the King's example, and the canons of Carlisle were soon furnished with means to build their Church.

The Church had been begun by the Norman Walter in 1083, the same year in which Bishop William of St. Carilef laid the foundations of the great minster of Durham, which the Church of Carlisle greatly resembled in design. When it was dedicated the choir, and perhaps the transepts, had been built; the building of the nave was slowly carried on as the state of funds allowed. Perhaps—but this is mere conjecture—the new canons absorbed into their undertaking some effort which was being made for the building of another parish church, and did so on the understanding that they would give the nave or a portion of it to the parishioners for their separate use. At all events the Church of St. Mary at Carlisle was a double church, the choir and transepts belonging to the canons, while the nave was used as a parish church. This was common to many of the great ecclesiastical edifices of England; but though the fact is established we cannot establish a common reason. In some cases the site of an old parish church was required for a later extension; but there is no record of the existence of an older church at Carlisle. We may indulge the conjecture that the building of one church was a sufficient tax upon the energies of the struggling town, and that it was judged better to erect one important building which should be an ornament to the town and a noble symbol to the

eye, rather than fritter away scanty resources in small things. Patriotism was as yet municipal and had not become parochial. The Church was the most universal element in English life, and Churchmen had common aspirations in the matter of their ecclesiastical buildings.

Henry I., however, had a political meaning in the favour which he showed to the Church of Carlisle. He had the intention of using the organisation of the Church to bind more closely to England a district which was as yet but loosely connected with the central power. The ecclesiastical position of Carlisle was ill defined. According to ancient right the town of Carlisle and the country round it belonged to the see of Durham as part of the ancient patrimony of St. Cuthbert; but this connexion had long since been severed, in the days when Cumbria had been an appanage of the Scottish Crown. Now that Carlisle had been reclaimed by England, it was reckoned as forming part of the neighbouring archdeaconry of Richmond, but the ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the residue of the old Cumbrian kingdom was claimed by the see of Glasgow. Although this arrangement did not please Henry I., he found it necessary to proceed cautiously in making any change. The existing state of things had prescription in its favour, and any proposal of change might raise difficult questions. The susceptibilities of the Archbishop of York had to be considered, perhaps, more carefully than those of the Bishop of Glasgow; but Archbishop Thurstan was a man whom the King knew that he could trust. Still he seems to have proceeded gradually. He established a college of Austin Canons, and erected for them suitable buildings. Then he set over them as prior a

man of some mark, his confessor Adelulf, whose name shows that he was of English birth. Adelulf was prior of Nostell, near Pontefract, one of the earliest settlements of the Austin Canons in England. As prior of Nostell he was a canon of York, well known to Thurstan and acceptable to him. The appointment of such a man as prior of Carlisle would be likely to give universal satisfaction, and as soon as Adelulf was established in Carlisle Henry went further, raised Carlisle to a bishopric, and appointed Adelulf its first bishop. He was consecrated by Archbishop Thurstan at York in August 1133.

It would seem that this act was viewed with great disfavour by the Scottish King and by Bishop John of Glasgow, who had long been engaged in a struggle against the provincial jurisdiction of Archbishop Thurstan. Probably John's refractory conduct was the chief motive which induced Thurstan to promote the formation of the new see. John also seems to have raised difficulties about its exact boundaries, which were not fully settled when Henry I. died. At all events a letter of Pope Innocent II. requests Stephen to finish the work which his predecessor had left incomplete; and it is probable that Bishop Adelulf had some trouble before he managed to have matters settled to his satisfaction. The jurisdiction of the see extended over the lands which now form the counties of Cumberland and Westmoreland.

The plans of Henry I., however, came to an end when Stephen ascended the throne. The Scottish King, David, had seen with alarm the spread of Henry's organisation on the borderland, and he was glad to lend his

help towards plunging England into confusion. Taking up arms in behalf of his niece Matilda, he poured his troops into northern England, which was left unprotected. Carlisle fell at once before him, and Stephen in 1136 made peace with Scotland, on condition that he conferred on Henry, the son of the Scottish King, the earldom of Carlisle, which so went back again into the same condition as that from which William Rufus had rescued it. For some years Carlisle was a Scottish town, a meeting-place of troops who pursued their ravages along the valley of the Tyne, reducing the land to a waste, till in 1138 a Papal legate, Alberic, Bishop of Ostia, a Cluniac monk, came to the aid of his suffering brethren at Hexham and Carlisle. Bishop Adelulf, who had been driven out by the Scots, hastened to put himself under the legate's protection. Together they came to Carlisle, where three days long the legate reasoned with the Scottish King and his advisers. The result of his mediation was that Adelulf should return to his see, that all the captives taken by the Scots should be brought to Carlisle on St. Martin's Day, and there be set at liberty, that for the future war should be waged in more civilised fashion, sparing monasteries and refraining from violence against non-combatants.

Perhaps the misfortunes of Stephen's reign weighed less heavily on Carlisle than on most English towns. It certainly grew in importance as the head-quarters of the Scottish King, and it would seem that Bishop Adelulf after his reconciliation with David was an efficient protector of the interests of his city. As being one who was influential in England he was treated by David with respect, and seems to have become one of his confi-

dential advisers. In fact, Bishop Adelulf's interests as a Churchman led him to feel no sympathy with Stephen, who wished to secure the archbishopric of York for his nephew, whereas the reforming Churchmen supported Henry Murdac, the pious Abbot of Fountains. In 1148 Henry Murdac visited David at Carlisle, and was assured of his aid and favour. The cause of Henry Murdac was soon associated in northern England with that of Henry Fitz-Empress, who in 1149 was dubbed knight by his uncle David, whom he came to visit in Carlisle. Two years afterwards Carlisle welcomed a cardinal legate who was sent to help the reforming Churchmen in securing the accession of Henry to the English throne. This, however, David did not live to see accomplished, for he died at Carlisle in 1153, and was succeeded by his grandson Malcolm.

During this period Carlisle certainly occupied a great position in English history. Though ruled by a Scottish King, it had an English bishop, who directed the policy of the Scottish King in a direction that tended in the end to the restoration of order in England. It was the feebleness of Stephen that gave the opportunity for rending Carlisle from the English kingdom; but when the Scottish King was seated in Carlisle he was driven to work for the restoration of the English crown to one who would brook no diminution of his ancestral rights. It was not long before Henry II. reclaimed from David's successor, Malcolm, the possessions which had been rent from the English Crown. Malcolm, who was but a child, had no power to resist, and surrendered the lands which Stephen had granted to his father, receiving as an acknowledgment the earldom of Huntingdon.

This recovery of Carlisle from the Scottish King marks a decisive epoch in the history of the city. In early times it had been English and Scottish in turns. William Rufus had claimed it as English ground, and his successor had done his best to organise it as an English city. The strength of that organisation had been sorely tried; Carlisle passed again into Scottish hands, and received a new population of Scottish folk. It might have been that it should have been left in Scottish hands. The story goes that Henry, when he was dubbed knight at Carlisle, swore to David that he would suffer the Scottish King to hold the northern shires in peace for ever. But Henry, when he felt himself secure on the English throne, took a lofty view of his duties as an English king, and refused to suffer any loss of English territory as a consequence of the war which had been waged in his mother's behalf. David had occupied Scotland in Matilda's name, and Matilda's son, when he had won the English crown, reclaimed its heritage. He would not have it said that any personal motive of gratitude had led him to barter away the rights of his predecessors. He maintained that the ancient boundaries of England must remain as they had been fixed before his time. Carlisle was a border city, but it must be the fortress of the English border. Henry II. made that fact clear beyond dispute, and though the Scottish kings tried to assert their claims they had no chance thenceforth of maintaining them. They were powerful enough at times to ravage the lands of Carlisle, or even to occupy the city, but they had no hopes of winning it back to form a portion of Scottish territory.

CHAPTER III.

MUNICIPAL ORGANISATION. 1158–1307.

WITH the recovery of Carlisle by Henry II. we begin to have some slight knowledge of its civic life. When its earldom came to an end in the reign of Henry I. it was a town in the royal demesne, owing to the King certain rents which were collected by the royal officer, the sheriff of the county. The dues to the Crown from Carlisle formed part of the ferm of the shire, for which the sheriff accounted to the exchequer. In 1158 a gift was levied on the shire, towards which the county paid fifty marks and the city of Carlisle twenty pounds. Next year the knights of Cumberland paid on a like occasion sixty marks, and the borough of Carlisle twenty marks. This serves to show the importance of the city in its relation to the rest of the county; and the use of the phrase 'borough of Carlisle' in 1159 seems to prove that some sort of civic organisation had come into existence.

It would seem that soon after its recovery from the Scots Henry II. conferred on Carlisle a charter granting certain privileges to the citizens. It gave them exemption from toll, passage, pontage, and all other sources of customs which belonged to the Crown; and reasonable estovers for gathering fire-wood, and also

for cutting wood for building in the forest of Carlisle; further it recognised a free merchant guild. This guild or club of merchants had come into being partly for religious and social purposes, partly as an association of those most interested in the trade of the city, who took counsel together how they might protect their common interests. The recognition of the guild in the royal charter gave it authority to manage its own affairs without interference; it was empowered to settle disputes amongst its own members, and was exempted from other jurisdictions. These guilds were the first organs of common life in English towns. When any corporate act had to be done by the burgesses, it was natural that the guild brethren should do it in their behalf.

The next step in the growth of a town was to get rid of the sheriff's interference. It was his office to collect the rents and dues of the Crown within the shire. Sometimes, no doubt, he did his work fairly and considerately; at other times he was extortionate, and contrived that a good deal of money stuck to his own fingers on its way to the King's exchequer. Anyhow a town, as soon as it had a sense of corporate life, aimed at managing its own money matters, and tried to compound with the sheriff or with the King for a fixed yearly payment. In this way it would collect the money itself and pay it over regularly without any interference from officials outside its own walls. In bringing about such a result the merchant guilds took the lead, and often made themselves responsible for the amount of the town's payment.

However Carlisle was not in a position to take this step very quickly, for it had not long entered upon the

enjoyment of its new privileges before it suffered from a Scottish war. The pious King Malcolm was succeeded by his warlike brother William the Lion, who joined the English rebels against Henry II. in 1173. Twice did the strong castle of Carlisle defy its assailants; but on the second siege, in 1174, William determined to reduce it by famine, and well-nigh succeeded. The garrison knew that it could not hold out unless it were relieved, and had pledged itself to surrender unless help came before Michaelmas. Meanwhile William advanced along the Tyne and laid siege to Alnwick. There he was surprised one misty morning by the forces of the Yorkshire royalists and was brought captive to Henry's presence. Carlisle was saved from surrender, but it suffered greatly from the siege. The land was laid waste, and trade for a time disappeared.

It would seem that the civic organisation of Carlisle advanced more rapidly than that of its bishopric, which was in an evil plight after Adelulf's death in 1156. During the time of Scottish rule it was natural that an attempt should be made to connect the diocese of Carlisle with some Scottish see. Probably Adelulf himself retained his personal influence, though his diocese theoretically was counted as part of the see of Whithern, which embraced Galloway. This bishopric had long been in abeyance, but was probably revived by the Scottish King, whereas Henry II., on the recovery of Cumberland, insisted on the restoration of the see of Carlisle. At all events the Pipe Rolls of 1159 and 1160 record payments made from the royal revenues to the Bishop of Whithern, and we find little mention made of the doings of Bernard, the second Bishop of Carlisle.

Moreover on Bernard's death, in 1186, the man whom Henry II. chose to be his successor declined the office, although the King offered to increase the scanty revenues of the see. For two years at least the temporalities of the bishopric were in the King's hand, and we hear of no bishop. In 1200 King John granted the see to the Archbishop of Sclavonia, and in 1203 to the Archbishop of Ragusa, in both cases giving a little pecuniary aid to foreign ecclesiastics who were in need. We must assume that spiritual matters did not prosper in Carlisle during this period.

The burghers, however, recovered their prosperity by means of loans from Jew money-lenders. Aaron of Lincoln had dealings in this far-off town, and Moses and Vinus are mentioned as two Jews who were resident within its walls. With the increase of trade which this betokens the burghers strove to have the management of their own affairs without the intervention of the sheriff, and in 1195 succeeded in inducing the penniless Richard I. to take 52*l.* as the ferm of the shire, which they paid directly to the King. This, however, seems to have been an exceptional case, as in 1201 they proposed to King John that they should collect their own payments, and offered to pay 3*l.* more than the sheriff was in the habit of paying. However the sheriff raised his payments and outbid the citizens; but the King lost on the transaction, as three years afterwards the sheriff died, leaving his payments in arrear. A few years after this the citizens succeeded in making an agreement with the sheriff, whereby they undertook to pay him a yearly rent of 52*l.* for all the royal dues in their neighbourhood. These

were the *firma burgi*, or rents for burgage tenements in the town, the toll due to the shire, the rent of corn mills within the town and a fishery on the river Eden. The mills and the fishery were sub-let by the citizens; they collected the toll as it had been collected before by the sheriff, and they raised the remainder by an assessment amongst themselves.

This arrangement depended on the goodwill of the sheriff, and the next object of the burghers was to put it on a secure footing. For this purpose they dealt directly with the Crown, and in 1221 obtained from Henry III. a writ directing the sheriff to hand over to the citizens their city, its mills, tolls, and fishery, in return for an annual payment to the Crown of 60*l*. The result of this was that, instead of being dependent on the goodwill of the sheriff, they were dependent on the goodwill of the King. He could revoke his writ at pleasure, for it was only addressed to the sheriff and conferred no perpetual rights. If the sheriff thought it worth while to offer the King better terms, doubtless he would be preferred. The position of the citizens rested on their offering the King the best terms which he could obtain.

So matters stayed for some time, during which the citizens of Carlisle had no easy life. In the end of the reign of John, the Scottish King again warred against England, and in 1215 Alexander II. took the town of Carlisle, but was not able to take the Castle. He laid waste the land of Cumberland, and hoped to make good the Scottish claim, which had never been abandoned. For this purpose he allied himself with Louis of France, whom the barons summoned to their

help against John. But John's death in the same year cleared the way for a settlement. No one had any grudge against his infant son Henry III., and the Papal legate Gualo did good service in restoring peace to England by excommunicating Louis and his adherents. It would seem that in this troublous time the allegiance of Carlisle to John was doubtful; the Castle was held in his name, but the citizens thought that they would be better off under the Scottish King. When England was laid under an interdict in consequence of John's quarrel with the Pope, the clergy seem to have discovered that they were under the Scottish and not under the English Church. The canons of Carlisle celebrated Divine services as usual, declaring that they owed fealty to the Scottish King; they elected a bishop of their own and went their own way.

The Pope and his legate, Gualo, now came forward to maintain the rights of the English Crown. On the accession of Henry III. it was the turn of Alexander II. to be excommunicated as an adherent of Louis; and the Pope ordered Gualo to reduce to order the disobedient canons of Carlisle by setting over them as bishop a Burgundian, Hugh, Abbot of Beaulieu, to whom was committed the care of their revenues. Hugh was not popular, and was charged with misappropriating the possessions of his see. Perhaps this charge may have arisen from the fact that he undertook an expensive enlargement of the Cathedral, following therein the prevailing fashion. The new style of architecture with the pointed arch seems to have put Englishmen out of conceit with the round-headed arches of early times. There was a

general desire to replace the apsidal choirs by lighter and more roomy buildings, and the remains of the old work at Carlisle show us that somewhere between 1220 and 1240 the choir was rebuilt to suit the new taste, and it seems probable that it was begun in the days of Bishop Hugh. He died in 1223, and was succeeded by Walter Mauclerk, so called from his scanty learning, who managed somehow to incur the King's displeasure, and went into exile for a season, after laying his diocese under an interdict. This does not show a happy state of ecclesiastical affairs, and so late as 1258 the Bishop of Glasgow persisted in his claim of jurisdiction over a portion of the diocese of Carlisle. The only redeeming feature of this troubled time was the arrival of the Mendicant Orders in Carlisle in 1233. These friars, who lived amongst the people and were distinguished by their zeal in good works, did a great deal to promote the general welfare of the lower classes of the inhabitants of the towns. Of their activity in Carlisle we have no detailed account. The Franciscans were the first to come, and settled inside the city walls, not far from the English gate. The Dominicans soon followed, and took up their abode at first outside the walls, though their convent was in later times transferred inside the town, probably for shelter, and the name of Blackfriars' Street still marks the spot where it stood. These Orders brought with them a certain amount of learning and culture, on which, perhaps, Carlisle made only a small demand. But the only mediæval historian of England who wrote in Cumberland was a nameless Minorite of Carlisle, whose valuable chronicle is wrongly known by the name of

the 'Chronicle of Lanercost.' The record covers the period from 1201 to 1346, and the writer evidently travelled much in Scotland as well as England, and was well informed about affairs. We can only regret that he has not told us more about the actual life of Carlisle, to which, unfortunately, none of his stories refer.

The reign of Henry III. saw the final abandonment of the claims of the Scottish Kings on the northern counties, and the position of Carlisle indisputably established as part of the territory of England. This was accomplished in 1237 by the intervention of a Papal legate, before whom Alexander II. laid his grievances in a conference held at York. It was agreed, after much parley, that Henry III. should compensate the Scottish King for his various claims by grants of land to the value of 200*l.* rental in the counties of Northumberland and Cumberland; but it was stipulated that such lands should lie outside the districts belonging to towns where castles stood. The grant was to be of a kind which should stay further aggressions, and the tenants of the Scottish King were to be removed from the neighbourhood of military posts. This agreement was carried out in 1242, and it is noticeable that all the lands given to the Scottish King lay within the county of Cumberland. They consisted of the manors of Penrith, Sowerby, Langwathby, Salkeld, Carlatton, and Scotby. Doubtless the choice of these particular lands, which all lie in the vicinity of Carlisle, was due to the fact that the population of that district was already greatly mixed with a Scottish element; and also that, lying as they did behind the Castle of Carlisle, they were

comparatively useless for the purpose of military occupation in a hasty raid. The Scottish King was to do homage for them to the King of England, and was to render for them every year a goshawk to the captain of Carlisle Castle.

This agreement led to an attempt to deal with lawless habits, which had already become habitual on the Borders, owing to the uncertain allegiance which had hitherto prevailed. It was doubtful at what court a malefactor could be tried, and probably much ingenuity was exercised in evading any definite claim to jurisdiction. Certain rough and ready rules had been framed by the people themselves, who in many cases took the law into their own hands in a way which did not promote order. It was still useless to attempt to draw a strict line of frontier or to regulate the dealings between the Borderers. The only course possible was to recognise the peculiar position of the Marches, and develop their customs into some orderly method of procedure. Accordingly in 1249 twelve knights were appointed for each kingdom, to make an inquest, and report what these customs were, so that by their codification something like a system might be brought into being. The code of Border Laws, thus prepared, laid down the places where those accused of homicide were to appear to answer by wager of battle. They enacted that if any bondman fled across the Border he might be pursued and brought back by the lord's bailiff if caught within forty-two days; beyond that time he could only be reclaimed by a writ of the King. Creditors were to be secure by demanding two sureties, one in each kingdom, and disputed cases were to be settled by compurgation in the March courts.

Stolen goods (*i.e.* horses and cows) were recoverable by wager of battle if the theft were denied; if the thief wished to avoid the battle, he was to drive the disputed animals into the Tweed or Esk, whence the claimant recovered them when they reached mid-stream. These and other suchlike customs were to be enforced by the magistrates and those having jurisdiction in towns or counties along the Borderland; but it is clear that their office must have been difficult to discharge, and they cannot have looked with satisfaction to the days for holding the courts of the Marches.

We hear nothing of importance about Carlisle from this time till 1292, when the city suffered from one of those disastrous fires which were so common in mediæval times. The streets were narrow and the houses were crowded closely together in the town, which huddled round its castle. Only the churches and here and there a house of importance were built of stone; the great mass of ordinary houses were made of wood and rose to a considerable height. They were erected close round the churches, often leaning against them, as was the case with our cathedrals till quite recent times. When a fire broke out from any accident it rapidly spread, and as the Norman churches were roofed and ceiled with wood their solid structure did not save them from considerable damage. At Carlisle the roof of the choir caught fire and fell in, so that the eastern part of the church was reduced to ruins. The greater part of the city was entirely destroyed.

To add to the troubles of the unhappy citizens, Edward I. chose this time to issue a writ of *quo warranto*, calling upon the mayor and community to show by what

warrant they held their franchises. Their charters had been burned in the fire, and probably it was long since anyone had had occasion to read them, so that the citizens could give no very clear account of the grounds on which their customary rights rested. They pleaded their best before the King's justices, but the jury, which consisted of freeholders in the county, found that the mills and fishery were not in the city but in the county, and did not belong to the citizens, but to the King. Perhaps Edward I. was satisfied with having a legal enquiry and did not wish to press hard upon the men of Carlisle in their melancholy plight; perhaps they secured his good-will by a gift of money. At all events in 1293 he restored their mills and fishery and gave them copies of their vanished charters.

He had a special reason for showing favour to Carlisle, for he needed its willing allegiance in carrying out his great plan of reducing Scotland to the acknowledgment of its vassalage to England. We need not here consider the wisdom or equity of the policy which he pursued; but he construed his power as superior lord so strictly that the Scots took up arms to resist English encroachment in 1296, and from that time forward it was long before Carlisle again knew the blessings of peace.

The first brunt of the war fell upon Carlisle, and again reduced it almost to ruins. In March 1296 the men of Annandale assembled to the number of 40,000 and marched across the Border, slaying all whom they met and sparing neither age nor sex. When they approached Carlisle, the garrison came out to defend the bridge across the Eden, and managed to break down part of it; but while they were so employed a

detachment of the Scots crossed by a ford at Rickerby and set fire to the suburbs. The city was soon surrounded by the enemy, but its citizens prepared to offer a brave resistance. There was, however, within the walls a Scottish spy, who had been imprisoned on suspicion. In the confusion he managed to escape, set fire to his prison, mounted the walls, and shouted his welcome to his Scottish friends. He was soon seized and dragged away; but the conflagration which he had started spread before a strong wind. The greater part of the city was soon in flames, and many cried out, 'The city is taken! let us flee!' In the general panic few were left to guard the walls; but while the men bestirred themselves to extinguish the fire, the women hurled down stones from the battlements, and poured upon the assailants caldrons of boiling water, so as to keep them at bay. The fire was got under and the defence was conducted with vigour. The Scots gathered sticks and straw and other combustibles, which they piled against the city gates. While they were thus engaged some of the burghers mounted the wooden platform above the gate, and with a hook fished up the leader of the besiegers, and held him suspended in the air while others pierced him with their long lances. The death of their leader terrified the assailants, who sullenly withdrew and next day retreated homewards.

Edward meanwhile entered Scotland through Berwick, forced Balliol to resign the crown, and reduced the country to submission. But next year the Scots rose under Wallace and won the battle of Stirling, after which they proceeded to devastate the northern counties. They did not even spare the monasteries,

but drove out the monks and clergy, so that 'the praise of God ceased in all churches between Newcastle and Carlisle.' The men of Carlisle had so far used the breathing-space as to make their city again habitable and strengthen its defences. In July the Scottish forces advanced in their devastating career to the walls of Carlisle, and sent a priest to negotiate with the citizens. He pompously delivered his message. 'My lord, William the Conqueror, sends to you, that, consulting for your lives, you should surrender to him your town and castle without bloodshed: if you do so he will spare your lives, your limbs, and your goods; if you refuse he will attack you and slay you all.' The citizens asked, 'Who is this Conqueror?' 'William whom ye call Wallace.' 'Our King,' answered the citizens, 'gave us the care and custody of this town and castle in his behalf; we do not think that it is his will that we should surrender it to your lord, William. Go and tell him that if he wishes to have it he must come and take it, if he can, like a real conqueror.' Then they manned the walls and showed a bold front to the foe. When the Scots saw their resolute bearing they passed by Carlisle and went on southwards, slaying, burning, and pillaging. This led to retaliation on the English side, and Lord Clifford summoned the men of Carlisle to join him in a raid on Annandale, where the English vied with the Scots in the ruin which they wrought.

In 1298 Edward again made a campaign in Scotland, and returned in September through Annandale to Carlisle. There he held a Parliament, in which he made grants of forfeited lands in Scotland to his English

barons, that they might be the more keen to carry on a war which was extremely burdensome. Carlisle was now recognised as the royal head-quarters in the Scottish expeditions, and it became to a great extent a seat of the English government. Its castle was given to the charge of the bishop of the diocese, John Halton, a vigorous and active prelate, whose knowledge of affairs made him a valuable counsellor to the King. In 1300 the King again passed through Carlisle on his way to Scotland; but that country now seemed to be reduced to quietness by his vigorous measures, and Carlisle for a few years could indulge the hope of peace and look forward to the speedy coming of a time when, instead of being a frontier fortress, it would be a happy town in the middle of a united kingdom.

These hopes were dispelled by the rising of Robert Bruce, who was crowned King of Scotland in March 1306. Again all was full of warlike preparation, and Edward, who now began to feel the ailments of advancing years, entered Cumberland and took up his abode in the priory of Lanercost. He summoned Parliament to meet in Carlisle at the beginning of 1307, when the city entertained a throng of noble visitors such as it had never welcomed before. Besides the English lords there came a Papal legate, Cardinal Peter of S. Sabina, and the ruined cathedral was the scene of as much pomp as its disasters permitted. The Papal legate was not a mere idle visitor. The motive of his coming was to secure peace between France and England by the marriage of young Edward of England to Isabella of France; but he was used by the King to add solemnity to the great motive of the assembling of Parliament, the

war against the rebellious Bruce. Bruce had incurred the Papal censure by his murder of Comyn in a church and his violation of the right of sanctuary. Accordingly, after a sermon in praise of peace, the legate and the bishops who were present vested themselves, and 'with lighted candles and ringing bells they terribly excommunicated Robert Bruce and his adherents as a perjured man and an unrighteous disturber of the common peace and quiet.'

However ornamental the Papal legate might be, his presence did not prevent Parliament from turning its attention chiefly to the discussion of the Papal extortions, under which England was growing extremely restive. The legate sat and listened to petitions which set forth that the Pope's demands upon the revenues of clergy and laity in England were intolerable. The same complaints had been made before, and were made again; but grumbling was easier than devising a remedy. For the present Parliament contented itself with forbidding abbots and priors to make payments to the superiors of their Orders out of the revenues of their houses, or to send money out of the kingdom. What was more important, the Papal collector in England was forbidden to export money, which was sorely needed at home.

Edward I.'s health was rapidly failing; but the news of some disasters attending the English arms stirred him to make a last endeavour and lead his army in person against the rebellious Scots. The first day he could only ride two miles; the next day he managed to ride two miles farther; the third day he rested, and on the fourth day reached Burgh-by-Sands, about six miles from Carlisle, where he was again compelled to

rest. But his strength was entirely exhausted, and on July 7, as his attendants raised him that he might take some food, he died in their arms. His death was kept a secret till his son's arrival; then the corpse of the great King was carried back to Carlisle, whence it was borne for burial to Westminster. Again Carlisle was filled with the barons of England, who came thither to do homage to the new King.

The character of Edward II. was sufficiently well known for the men of Carlisle to make a shrewd guess that he would not reduce Scotland to obedience. The attempt of Edward I. had well-nigh succeeded. If his hands had been free, or if his bodily vigour had held out, he might have accomplished his project, and so bequeathed to his young successor the pleasant task of striving to obliterate the traces of old antagonisms and weld the two peoples into one. This, however, was not to be. Edward I. had underestimated the power of Scottish nationality, and though he might conquer in the field he could not change the feelings of the Scottish people. What he had failed to do an inexperienced youth was scarcely likely to achieve. Carlisle had suffered severely for Edward I.'s policy, but had suffered willingly in behalf of a policy which aimed at great results. Edward I. died without having settled the matter, and the result of his attempt to Carlisle was that her brief period of peaceful civic life came to an end for many centuries. The Castle of Carlisle became a frontier fortress more decidedly and definitely than it had been before. Hitherto it had been more or less a question of expediency how far the southern kingdom should extend, how rapidly it would absorb the people

of the north of the island, by what means the Scottish King might be reduced to the position of an English earl. The ambiguous position of Carlisle was typical of a process which was likely to be gradually extended. But Edward I.'s premature measures awakened conscious antagonism and created a Scottish nationality. Henceforth Carlisle was a place exposed to the determined hostility of a people who had nearly suffered extinction, and who were resolutely bent on maintaining their independence against a powerful foe. The Borders became the field of a continuous internecine warfare, which was all the more determined because it was oft-times waged in secret. Hitherto Carlisle had been a town like other English towns, save that its position gave it a more military aspect. Henceforth Carlisle became not so much a town as the seat of a garrison. The necessity of constant warfare changed the habits of its civic life. The district of which it was the chief town became a district which stood apart from others, which developed characteristics of its own, had its own manners and customs, and even its own literature.

It was well that Carlisle during the previous century had gained the organisation of civil and ecclesiastical life. For a long time to come it had to live upon its previous stores and had little opportunity of increasing them. It possessed, however, a vigorous body of citizens, who had won for themselves the right of managing their own affairs. It was the seat of a bishop and had in its abbey the elements of religious life. Probably it owed much to the Dominican and Franciscan friars, whose activity in the earlier part of their career was strong in bringing the teaching of the Church into

accordance with the growing independence of the burgher class.

It is not, however, to Carlisle that we must look for an example of the work and influence of the Church. That influence may have been as great as elsewhere on the hearts of men, but it had little means of displaying itself in a very impressive form. The see of Carlisle was scantily endowed; the priory was poor and struggling; no scholar was likely to be found in a place which so often resounded with the din of arms. At the time of the Parliament of Carlisle the remnants of the Norman Church told of a time when men believed in the possibility of a peaceful future. The gaunt ruins of the choir, blackened by fire, told how their hopes had been disappointed. Even Edward I. was moved with compassion for its desolation, and gave the canons the advowson of the church of Sowerby as a cheap way of ridding himself from further responsibilities; and as the reason for his generosity he specifies 'in relief of the losses and destruction which our well-beloved in Christ, the prior and convent aforesaid, have hitherto sustained by the invasions and burnings of the Scots, who are our enemies and rebels.' Perhaps this act of beneficence inspired the canons of Carlisle to begin the rebuilding of their choir; but the work lasted a long while, and fifty years passed away before it was finished.

It was natural that Edward I.'s attention should be directed rather to the Castle than to the Church; for its reparation was more urgently needed. The curtain wall which surrounded the outer court was carefully strengthened, and the gate towers, both of the outer and inner court, were rebuilt according to the more

elaborate plans for defence which had by this time been introduced. Further, the Castle was rendered more habitable as a permanent place of abode. For this purpose a hall was built in the inner keep, with rooms where the captain of the Castle might live and entertain his guests. Doubtless the force of the garrison was largely increased, and Carlisle generally assumed a more distinctly military aspect than it had worn before. It was to enter upon a new stage in its history, a stage in which glory was allied with danger, and its people were men who if they traded with one hand held the sword in the other.

CHAPTER IV.

SCOTTISH WARS. 1307–1480.

EDWARD II. soon showed that he had little heart in carrying out his dying father's injunctions to pursue the war against Scotland till the land was reduced to obedience. Instead of leading to battle the host which his father had collected, he went a little way into Scotland, received the homage of some of the barons who were opposed to Bruce, and then returned to Carlisle, whence he made his way southward. The conduct of the Scottish war was committed to the Earl of Richmond; but the exceptional condition of the Borders was recognised by the appointment of four men in the four northern counties with the title of Keepers of the King's Peace. Their office was to gather the men of their shires who could bear arms, and have them in readiness to act under the Earl of Richmond's orders in case of need.

This was not enough to check the zeal of Robert Bruce, who more and more united all the Scots under his banner, and swept away the traces of English supremacy. While Edward II. wasted his time in quarrels with his nobles the power of Bruce steadily increased. In 1311 he was strong enough to devastate

Cumberland, and next year he repeated his raid and drove the men of the bishopric of Durham to ransom themselves from further ruin by a large money payment. The other northern counties followed this example, but Cumberland and Westmoreland were so impoverished that they had to give hostages for the greater part of their debt.

When at last Edward II. bestirred himself to turn his attention to Scotland, his attempt only ended in the disastrous defeat of Bannockburn in 1314, after which the inroads of the Scots were carried on more remorselessly than before. In 1315, after laying the country waste, Robert Bruce undertook the siege of Carlisle, which he regarded as a thorn in the side of Scotland. The captain of the Castle of Carlisle, Sir Andrew of Harclay, was a capable man who kept close watch over the proceedings of marauding Scots, cut them off in their advance, and made frequent reprisals on the Scottish territory. The story goes that the Scottish King made oath that he would eat no flesh till he had avenged himself on Harclay and the garrison of Carlisle. For this purpose he made a vigorous assault on the town, and continued the siege for ten days. But the citizens defended themselves gallantly and hurled down stones on their assailants, inflicting great losses, till King Robert was driven to raise the siege and retreat. Even on his retreat Harclay pursued him and inflicted further damage.

The result of this brave defence was to secure for the citizens of Carlisle a well-deserved mark of royal favour. It was clear that men who could fight so vigorously for their town were fit to manage their own

affairs and might be freed from any fear of further intervention on the part of the sheriff. So in 1316 Edward II. granted them a further charter, recognising their independence more amply than had his father. They were to possess their city, the mills, the fishery, and the tolls, and all vacant places in the city and suburbs, on condition of paying a fee-farm rent to the Crown of 80*l.* a year; they were further freed from all tolls of every kind for their wares and merchandise throughout the kingdom. By this charter the city practically became independent of the sheriff; it formed a county of its own, with its own magistrates and separate jurisdiction. The dues of the Crown were compounded for in perpetuity by the annual payment of 80*l.*

Another result of the bravery of the men of Carlisle was that their captain, Sir Andrew of Harclay, became a man of mark. He received from the King the custody of the counties of Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire, and became the chief officer on the English Border. Edward II. was too much embarrassed by his troubles at home to wage war against the Scots, and was forced to make a truce in 1320. Harclay was appointed one of the guardians of the truce on the English side, and negotiations for a peace were begun by commissioners on either side, who met in Carlisle, but were unable to agree on satisfactory terms. In 1322 hostilities were renewed, and the Scots found allies amongst the discontented barons of England. Harclay was on the watch to prevent a junction between the rebels and the Scots, and it was chiefly owing to his watchfulness that the leader of the English mal-

contents, Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, the King's uncle, was captured in 1322 at Boroughbridge.

Edward II.'s joy at this overthrow of his great opponent led him to take an unwise step. He revived the earldom of Carlisle, which Henry I. had wisely extinguished, in favour of Harclay, who was now invested with almost independent power along the English Border, having the command of all the levies in the northern shires. But Harclay no longer showed his old vigour in repulsing the Scottish inroads. Whether his men were worn out and had lost heart, or he himself despaired of effectual support from Edward II. and construed his office into a duty to do his best for the people committed to his charge, or whether he was acting solely from personal motives, cannot be clearly determined. It was said that he hated Edward's minister Despenser, and that the Scottish King tempted him from his allegiance by an offer of his sister in marriage. At all events he entered into communication with the Scottish King on his own account for the purpose of making a truce. Edward II. in alarm summoned him to his presence, and when Harclay refused to obey issued a proclamation depriving him of his offices and appointing his own brother, the Earl of Kent, to be lieutenant on the Marches. Edward II. saw his danger and acted with decision; he gave orders that Harclay should be seized and brought before him. The royal command was executed by Sir Antony Lucy, lord of Cockermouth, sheriff of the county, who called to his aid some of his neighbours. With a scanty retinue they entered Carlisle Castle as though on a visit to the Earl. As they passed through the several gates a few

of their men lagged behind to talk to the guards. When Lucy and his companions were ushered into the Earl's presence they found him alone and unsuspicious: throwing off their cloaks they showed themselves fully armed, and Lucy at once arrested the Earl as a traitor. When an alarm was raised the men who had stayed behind at the gates fell upon the guards, and the Castle was at once in the sheriff's hands. The ease with which the capture was made seems to show that Harclay was not popular, and that the feeling of the men of Carlisle was against him and his doings. No sooner was his seizure reported to the King than he appointed commissioners, not so much to try as to degrade and punish him. These orders were speedily carried out, and in March 1323 the burghers of Carlisle saw the end of their new earl. He was degraded from the earldom and from knighthood; his sword was ungirt, his spurs were hewn from his heels. Then he was condemned to be beheaded and quartered. His head was set up on London Bridge; his quarters in Carlisle, Newcastle, York, and Shrewsbury.

It would seem that the fate of the Earls of Lancaster and Carlisle, following so close upon each other, convinced King Robert that the power of the English King was, after all, greater than he had supposed, and that, weak as Edward II. might be, the English people were not prepared to follow the discontented barons in anything that tended to diminish the national power. Robert had no further hopes of raising up a party in his favour in England, and so consented to make a truce, which lasted during the rest of the unfortunate reign of Edward II. The accession of the young Edward III. gave the

Scots a new opportunity for declaring war, and Cumberland was twice harried by their incursions in 1327. It had by this time become obvious that the conquest of Scotland by England was not immediately possible. The policy of Edward I. had come to nothing in the hands of his feeble son: the English claim to Scotland had dwindled away. So the regency in the name of Edward III. renounced the claim to the Scottish crown, recognised King Robert and his successors as rightful kings, and received a sum of money in return. On this basis a treaty of peace was made in 1328, and the death of King Robert next year made way for a more peaceable ruler of Scotland, his young son David.

Peace, however, was not of long duration. The spirit of national antagonism along the Border was too strong to die readily away, and there were constant raids. Moreover there were many interests involved which were too powerful to subside readily to quietness. English lords claimed lands in Scotland and were unwilling to submit their claims to peaceful settlement. It was in vain that guardians of the peace were appointed to mark out the exact frontier line, and enforce the customs which had grown up amongst the men of the Marches. In vain the sheriffs were ordered to see that no hostile acts were committed. Private claims were urged by armed force, and in 1332 the English faction in Scotland raised up Edward Balliol as a pretender to the crown. Balliol was crowned at Scone, and soon afterwards took up his abode at Annan. There a sudden attack was made upon him by Lord Archibald Douglas in the darkness of a December night. Half naked, Balliol mounted a horse, which he had not time to saddle,

and rode over the sands of Solway to Carlisle Castle, where he was honourably received by its captain, Lord Dacre. Edward III., now ruling for himself, was weary of the pacific policy dictated by his mother as regent. He took the exiled Balliol under his protection and went to war with Scotland in behalf of his vassal.

In 1333 Cumberland was again ravaged, but its men gathered in the field, made reprisals, and carried back important prisoners to Carlisle. In the war that followed Balliol was placed by English arms on the Scottish throne; but the Scots refused to accept a king who was the mere puppet of his English lord, and there were constant risings against him. In 1335 Edward III. summoned his forces to Carlisle, whence he led them into Scotland, and for some years Carlisle was once more the royal head-quarters, as it had been in the days of Edward I.

It soon became clear that England could not force upon Scotland a king whom the people would not accept. David Bruce found support in France, and the war against Scotland broadened into a war against France as well. David Bruce returned to Scotland in 1341, and harassed northern England while Edward III. carried on his campaigns against France, till he was defeated and taken prisoner, in 1346, at the battle of Nevil's Cross. Scotland, deprived of its king and exhausted by its long warfare, agreed to a truce, which the prevalence of the Black Death rendered almost necessary, till peace was made and King David was released in 1357.

This prolonged period of warfare affected every class of society and turned every man into a soldier. Even the bishops of Carlisle became military personages. Their

humble tower at Rose, some seven miles from Carlisle, developed in the course of the thirteenth century into a stately manorhouse, which in 1322 was not strong enough to resist a party of Scottish marauders and was set on fire by them. In consequence of this disaster Bishop Kirby (1332–52) obtained the royal licence to convert his manorhouse into a castle. He rebuilt it as a quadrangle, surrounded by a rampart and a ditch; he preserved the original tower in one corner, and joined on to it a hall, a council chamber, and other buildings necessary for a lord who kept a considerable retinue. Moreover Bishop Kirby was indefatigable in guarding his diocese from the Scots, and was one of the most valiant defenders of the English Border. In 1345 he pursued a band of marauders which had ravaged Cumberland; though his forces were but small he hung upon their rear and annoyed them till on their retreat he ventured on an encounter. Though unhorsed in the battle, he managed to recover his saddle and rally his men, so that the Scots retreated with considerable loss. Under such a martial prelate it is natural to find that small progress was made with the rebuilding of the Cathedral, of which the choir still stood in ruins, little heeded amongst the necessities of that rude time. Carlisle, in fact, was reduced to a military outpost, and its civic life had all the roughness of a barrack.

The burghers of a town like Carlisle certainly deserved a full recognition of their rights, and in 1353 obtained from Edward III. their fullest and most comprehensive charter. It was the result of an inquisition, which found that from time immemorial the citizens of Carlisle had enjoyed the following privileges: return

of all writs; a market every Wednesday and Saturday; a fair on the Feast of the Assumption of the Virgin and fifteen days after; a free guild; free election of mayor, bailiffs, and two coroners, who could hold the assize of bread, wine, and ale, and determine pleas of the Crown within the city; goods of all felons and fugitives; freedom from taxation of the county and suit at the county court; common of pasture and the right to cut turf on King Moor; the place called Battailholme for their fairs and markets; the power to devise their tenements by will; the city mills and the fishery in the Eden.

This charter, which places the rights of the citizens very high, was expressly granted because the sheriff of Cumberland had hindered the citizens in the enjoyment of their liberties. It was the end of the struggle against the sheriff, which led to an enumeration of everything which the citizens regarded as their due; and the King confirmed all that the citizens claimed. It is noticeable that in this charter the officers of the city—the mayor, bailiff, and coroner—are for the first time mentioned.

This growth of municipal life in Carlisle shows that the prevalence of warfare along the Border did not lead to depopulation; rather it trained up a body of inhabitants who found pleasure in the adventurous life which was here afforded to them. There grew up on both sides of the Border a race of sturdy peasants who preferred raids and pillage, with all their chances of reprisals, to the monotony of a settled life of industry. War between the two nations was to them important only because it increased the numbers of combatants and extended the sphere of their marauding operations.

A national truce or peace affected them but little. The transference of cattle from one side of the Border to the other was the natural way of stocking a farm, and the risk of life and limb only lent an additional piquancy to this way of conducting business. The ordinary laws had little chance of commanding obedience, and the ordinary magistrates were powerless. Edward I. appointed in 1296 Robert de Clifford Warden of the Marches, for the purpose of raising the local levies and seeing that they were properly trained and equipped for war. The continuance of warfare tended to make this office permanent; when troops were not needed for attack they were necessary for defence. The prolonged period of disturbance made it impossible to apply to the Borders the methods of administration of justice which prevailed in the rest of England, and led to an amalgamation of civil and military jurisdiction in an exceptional way. The example of England was followed by Scotland, and the organisation became complete. The lands on either side of the Borders were divided into districts, known as the East, West, and Middle Marches; over each of them was set a warden, and one of the three generally bore the title of Lord Warden and was the military superior of his colleagues. Each conference for the purpose of establishing peace between the two countries had to consider the special condition of the Borders, and every treaty generally contained some clauses dealing with the duties of the wardens and defining more elaborately the customs of the Border people. Thus there grew up an increasing body of special laws for the purpose of dealing practically with the state of affairs which Border warfare had developed.

Of all this Carlisle was the centre. It was the last bulwark of settled government, where at least a body of citizens managed their affairs in accordance with ordinary usage, where the royal power was represented by the captain of the Castle and the Church spoke through the mouth of its bishop. North of Carlisle and east of Carlisle lay a region where ordinary laws were in abeyance, where clans of tribesmen were banded against one another and feuds were handed down from generation to generation. The garrison and burghers of Carlisle were looked on with no favour even by their English neighbours; they were an alien and intrusive element amongst a lawless folk, who would gladly have seen them swept away. The frequent sieges which Carlisle underwent were not due to its military importance alone; they are a testimony to the annoyance caused by the protest which the city raised in behalf of civilised life. Rude as its life might be as compared with places more favourably situated, it was still a life founded on respect for the principles on which society rested. The municipal organisation of Carlisle kept it in touch with the rest of England, and prevented it from falling to the level of the lawlessness which surged round its walls.

The middle of the fourteenth century, however, gave greater prospects of peace, and a more determined attempt was made to finish the rebuilding of the choir of the Cathedral. The work had been going on by fits and starts, beginning from the transept, but it advanced slowly, and there were long periods in which nothing was done. The successor of the fighting Bishop Kirby, Gilbert Welton (1352–63), took the matter more

zealously in hand, and issued many appeals for money for the purpose. The inhabitants of the diocese were doubtless impoverished, and the bishop's offer of indulgences in exchange for contributions did not produce enough to enable the work to progress with great rapidity. Something, however, was done, and the work was steadily prosecuted under the next bishop, Thomas Appleby (1363–95), during whose episcopate the choir was at length finished.

Great as were the difficulties in the way of this work, which was extended over nearly a century, one thing is obvious, that the canons of Carlisle never thought of contenting themselves with anything smaller than had been first designed. There are few records of the history of the building of the Cathedral Church of Carlisle beyond such as are supplied by a careful inspection of the fabric itself. From it we learn that, before the great fire of 1292, the canons of Carlisle had not found themselves in such an evil plight as to be beyond the reach of prevailing fashions. The history of every great church in England shows that, early in the thirteenth century, the development of new architectural forms, which followed from the substitution of the pointed for the round arch, awakened genuine enthusiasm among the people at large, and led to bold schemes for the reconstruction of existing buildings. The canons of Carlisle did not like to be behind the age, but shared the common dissatisfaction with the severe dignity of the low arches and massive pillars, with the plain round windows, and, above all, with the lack of room for their high altar, owing to the eastern part of the church being narrowed by an apsidal end.

These things, they thought, must be amended into conformity with larger views of space and a heightened standard of stateliness and grace. Accordingly they determined, about the middle of the thirteenth century, to remodel their church upon a larger scale. As was usual, they began at the east end, and first built on an addition to it that they might never disable the high altar. Not till the new part was finished and ready for the reception of the altar was the east wall pulled down and the work continued westwards. The old choir was about eighty feet long; the addition was about forty feet, so that the new design contemplated a much larger building.

Nor was the extension in length only; the new building was twelve feet broader than that which it displaced. But, as the space occupied by the conventual buildings, which lay on the south side, was none too large, the additional breadth was thrown entirely upon the north side. This accounts for the position of the transept arch in the present building. The arch is not in the centre of the west wall of the choir, but remains in the position originally occupied by the transept arch of the first building. It matches the old nave, and not the new choir, because the plan of an entire remodelling of the church had to be abandoned; and, as the nave was left twelve feet narrower than the choir, it was not worth while altering the junction of the choir with the transept.

How much of the new choir had been built in 1292 it is difficult to determine. Funds soon began to fail, and it seems probable that the work was only carried to the tops of the main arches and a roof was then

thrown over the unfinished building which was a long low shed. This explains the damage wrought by the fire, which easily caught the low roof. The burning rafters rapidly destroyed the pillars; and the whole building suffered such injury that it had to be reconstructed. The outside walls were left standing, and every care was taken to husband resources and use as much of the old material as possible. Hence there are many curious features in the work; new pillars support old arch stones, and details of different styles of architecture are found side by side.

When the rebuilding commenced, an additional bay was added to the east end so as to make the entire length of the choir one hundred and thirty-eight feet. The work was again carried to the top of the main arches as soon as possible, and was again covered with a temporary roof, till Bishop Welton built the east window and carried on the work in the choir which his successor finished about 1380.

There is a pathos in this story of repeated disaster and continued effort amidst untoward circumstances. Though many of our great churches tell a similar tale, yet none of them can show such a prolonged struggle against adversity as can the Cathedral of Carlisle, which in its shorn proportions testifies to hard usage suffered at many times, and is an eloquent memorial of the city's fortunes. But it shows the hopefulness and courage of the citizens, who, in the hardest times, did not despair of the future. Poor as the men of Carlisle might be, no one ever thought of putting up a poor building for their head church. It was better to wait for increased prosperity, even though they waited a hundred years,

than to fall short of the high standard of architectural excellence which prevailed throughout England. There was nothing disgraceful about a temporary shed, but a mean building would be an outrage on posterity. Few buildings in England are more significant of the pertinacity, the dignity, and the public spirit of our forefathers than is the noble choir of Carlisle Cathedral. The men who made such sacrifices that they might bequeath a worthy memorial to posterity, deserve the meed of our respectful recognition.

Not only were they resolved that they would not diminish the plan of their building, but they had no thought of depriving it of beauty of detail. From time to time they did what they could, and there were many after-thoughts, so that the building has a special interest as showing the development of English architecture during the fourteenth century. Its east window marks the highest point of grace and beauty attained by the architecture of the Decorated style. Its large size and boldness of design, the elegance and harmonious composition shown in its tracery, denote that it was the work of the most skilful designer of his time. Nor is the choir of Carlisle Cathedral only distinguished for its architectural excellence. The skill of the sculptor was employed to carve the capitals of earlier columns, which were wrought with a grace that makes them exquisite samples of ornamentation. Twelve of them take for their motive the representation of the months of the year, a motive common enough, but nowhere worked out with so much luxuriance of fancy. The groundwork of the figures is foliage clustering round the tops of the pillars: oaks extend their branches and

vines send forth their shoots. These are peopled by birds and beasts, by men and grotesque creatures in every attitude, but always full of life and movement. On the spaces facing the choir are placed the representations of the months, showing the various occupations of the different seasons—now a peasant pulling off his wet boots and warming his bare feet at the fire, now a lord riding out with his hand full of roses and a hawk on his fist, now a reaper, and again a sower—the whole presenting a picture of rural England of the time.

The only point in which the choir of Carlisle Cathedral shows any signs of enforced economy is in the absence of a stone vaulted roof. It was surmounted by a round ceiling of panelled wood, supported by hammer-beams, and curiously constructed. Its panels were painted, and it was adorned with bosses bearing the arms of the noble families of the neighbourhood, who had been benefactors to the work. It was but natural that the canons should wish to have their stately walls covered in as soon as possible. They had been the sufferers during the long period of waiting, and perhaps envied the parishioners their rights over the nave. For this reason they bestirred themselves that the choir should be a dignified building, large enough to supply all their wants. At Carlisle the boundary between the two churches was drawn more clearly at the entrance to the choir than in most large churches, where generally the presbytery encloses one or two bays of the nave.

The time which the men of Carlisle could give to the works of peace was never long. The reign of Edward III. ended in failure, and the accession of

Richard II. witnessed a renewal of hostilities on the part of the Scots. In 1380 Carlisle was again besieged, and the Scots shot burning arrows into the town, setting fire to some houses and threatening a general conflagration. Luckily the approach of an English army caused them to raise the siege, and the town was saved. The respite, however, from warfare was short, as in 1387 a plundering raid on a large scale was planned by the Scottish nobles, and one division, under the Earl of Fife, laid siege to Carlisle and pressed it hard for a time. There is an account of an accidental fire in 1390, which is said to have destroyed a great part of the town and the north transept of the Cathedral.

It is useless to follow the series of truces which were made during this time. They were only confessions of present exhaustion and brought no lasting peace. But the strength of the position of Carlisle was recognised by the Scots, and the line of Scottish invasion more frequently followed the mountain passes into Northumberland, which was practically a permanent battle-field. The entries into Cumberland were more easily guarded, and the Castle of Carlisle was a precious bulwark for the rest of the county. Moreover Carlisle Castle was in the hands of the Crown, and Cumberland contained no great baronial family like the Percies, who took a leading part in English politics. Hence it was saved from the troubles which followed from the ambitious schemes of Hotspur. This, however, was owing to the foresight of Henry IV., who knew that loyalty to a defeated cause lingered longest in outlying districts. The men of Cumberland looked with no favourable eye on the deposition of Richard II. and the accession of a new

dynasty. They readily believed the story that Richard was not really dead, but had made his escape to Scotland. Their minds were in a ferment, and they were ready to take up arms at the appearance of a pretender. The Bishop of Carlisle, Thomas Merkes (1397–1400), had been a staunch adherent of Richard II., and was personally popular in this diocese. He showed an honourable loyalty to his fallen benefactor, and was one of the few who refused to desert him. When Richard's counsellors were attacked he was committed to the charge of the Abbot of St. Alban's, but was soon involved in a conspiracy to set up a pretended Richard in the place of the dead king. Henry IV. did not wish to add to his difficulties by raising any question about clerical privileges; so he disposed of this troublesome bishop by the help of the Pope, who, to please the King, translated Merkes to the see of Samothrace. After this polite form of deprivation was accomplished, Henry sent a man whom he could trust to be bishop of Carlisle, William Strickland (1400–1419). He found that the men of Cumberland were attached to their old bishop and their former king, and thought it wise to take measures of precaution. Acting on his advice Henry appointed a commission, with the bishop as its president, which was empowered to imprison men suspected of disloyalty. Their measures were so far successful that the men of the West March did not join the men of the East in their expedition to Shrewsbury.

Bishop Strickland, in addition to his political services, also carried to an end the work of his predecessors in rebuilding the Cathedral. The Norman nave was

standing in all its old dignity, and the Decorated choir had just been finished. It still remained to unite these two members into one structure by building up the transepts and rearing a central tower. This was Bishop Strickland's work, and though his tower was naturally of modest height, it was dignified and of good proportions. Moreover he went on to furnish the choir with stalls to the number of forty-six, though it seems probable that the tabernacle work which rises above them was added somewhat later. However, the Cathedral was finished early in the fifteenth century, and Carlisle could then boast of a great church which might compare favourably with many of those erected in more fortunate places.

The fifteenth century was spent along the Borders in a continuous course of raids and bloodshed, occasionally tempered by truces, of which the chief use was that the preliminary discussions led to a constant increase of the codification of the Border customs. Elaborate provisions were drawn up for maintaining a peace which neither party had much hopes of carrying out; but both parties agreed that, however much the two nations might be at peace, there would be no suspension of marauding on the part of the Borderers unless peace were enforced by steady pressure from the authorities on either side of the frontier. Thus the *Leges Marchiarum*, or Border Laws, kept on growing in bulk of parchment on which they were written, though not in diligence of their observance. They were rather a testimony and protest than anything real or practicable; yet they were of value as a protest and might be applied when opportunity offered.

We hear little that is of distinctive interest concerning Carlisle during the fifteenth century, till the disturbed state of England encouraged the Scots to renew their devastations.

After the battle of Towton in 1461 Queen Margaret fled to Scotland with the luckless Henry VI., and hoped by Scottish help and through the loyalty of the northern nobles still to make head against the triumphant Yorkists. It would seem that the captain of the Castle of Carlisle considered his allegiance to be due to the King *de facto*; probably also the citizens were unwilling to ally themselves with the Scots in furtherance of a dynastic quarrel. At all events Carlisle was besieged by a Scottish force in the name of Henry VI.; its suburbs were burned and it suffered considerable loss. When Edward IV. came northwards to arrange for the defence of the Border, he had pity upon the sad plight of Carlisle, and probably wished to have some substantial guarantee of its loyalty to himself. Accordingly he reduced the annual payment due from the citizens to the Crown; for the former fee-farm rent of 80*l.* he substituted a payment of 40*l.*, and confirmed their charter with that alteration. The course of the war showed that the men of Carlisle had acted wisely. The eastern castles were besieged and taken by Edward's forces, and the country was desolated by war, from which Carlisle was comparatively free.

Edward IV.'s policy aimed at restoring England to peace and promoting industry. For these ends he saw the importance of quiet on the Borders, and did his utmost to bring this about. The care of the north of England was given to his brother, the Duke of Gloucester, after-

wards Richard III., who was made Lord Warden of the Marches and captain of Carlisle Castle. He occasionally resided in the Castle, and did something towards rendering it a more pleasant place of residence. It was constantly being injured by sieges and constantly needing repairs, and doubtless was uncomfortable enough as a dwelling-place. How much building Richard did, it is difficult to determine, and his work probably was confined to repairs; but on the wall outside the moat which connected the Castle with the city, is a tower which still bears the name of Richard's Tower and is adorned by his cognisance of a boar. It may be that he fitted up this tower to contain a few rooms where he could be in privacy during his visits to this somewhat barbarous part of the district which was committed to his charge.

Carlisle certainly cannot have been an attractive place to live in. Two centuries of almost continuous warfare must have left it far behind the average civilisation of midland and southern England. In the middle of the thirteenth century its conditions were as favourable as that of any other town. Since then its civic population had dwindled; its neighbourhood was a scene of constant rapine; it was the centre of a large military population rather than the abode of civic life. Luckily it possessed in its church and bishop strong guarantees that it should not entirely fall out of connexion with the influences which moulded English life. The system of the Church was at least uniform; and, though Cumberland was not suited to be the home of great monastic institutions, still the Abbey of Holme Cultram and the Priories of Lanercost and Wetheral kept alive the sense of a religious life. The bishops of Carlisle, if not re-

markable for spiritual power, were naturally chosen for their political capacity and shared in the disasters which befell their flock. The citizens of Carlisle held by their municipal privileges, and did not sink into appendages of the Castle. Life might be rude on the English Border, but it was certainly vigorous, and the special conditions of their situation created amongst the Borderers characteristics of their own which gave them an interest and importance denied to the more fortunate dwellers in more quiet places.

CHAPTER V.

BORDER LIFE.

CARLISLE owes its position amongst English towns not so much to the peculiar features of its own civic history as to the fact that it was the capital of the Borderland and reflected the characteristics of the Border people. Scots and English might differ in their national life, but that difference was not to be detected along the Borders, where the inhabitants on either side of the frontier were of the same race, lived under the same conditions, and shared the same experiences. They fought, it is true, on different sides; but what was warfare between the two nations was to the Borderers only a more open and definite way of pursuing family feuds, or carrying on the life of rapine which they never laid aside. It is true that there was a little more order on the English side, as the captain of Carlisle Castle, being a royal official, was not primarily influenced by merely local considerations. Further, there were along the English Border baronial castles, whose lords rose above the position of chieftains of clans. Such was the Castle of Naworth under its Dacre lords. But the influence of the captain and the bishop of Carlisle, even backed by that of the lord of Naworth, could not avail to change the kind of life which social circumstances naturally

engendered and which military necessities increasingly fostered.

It was natural that in a region exposed to invasion individual independence should largely prevail. Whatever had been originally the rights of landowners, it was practically impossible to enforce them. When each man had to fight for himself, the land that he fought for became, to all intents, his own, and his lord had nothing to claim from him save that he should fight for it manfully. The result was that the men of the Border, the dalesmen or statesmen of later times, were a race of sturdy peasants, whose one duty was to fight, and whose interest and duty coincided. In times of war or danger they were called out to take common action, and the local levies were led to join the host of the Warden of the March or of the King's lieutenant-general. Beyond this they knew little of any obligations of tenure; they behaved as though they were independent.

Their dwellings corresponded to their mode of life, and the needs of defence developed on the Border a systematic chain of strongholds. The castles of Carlisle, Naworth, Penrith, and Cockermouth were the main garrisons of the Western March, and were prepared to stand a siege and resist an armed invasion; but they were unable to keep such watch and ward as to cut off all predatory bands, and a considerable tract of fertile land lay north of Carlisle beyond the reach of its protection. All along the Borders the dwellers on both sides had to be prepared for the sudden inroad of a marauding foray, which swept away their cattle and all else that they possessed. To provide against this

constant source of danger, the better class of Borderers built themselves solid square towers of stone, which reproduced upon a small scale the keep of the Norman castle. Still further to carry out the resemblance to a castle, these 'peels,' as they were called, were surrounded by a curtain wall of wooden palisade, which went by the name of 'the barmkyn.' When a raid began it was soon known by the flight of some of the inhabitants of the menaced district. As the news spread the peasants hastened to drive their cows to the nearest enclosure which might afford them refuge. Sometimes a natural rock or corner in the valley served their purpose. The success of the plunderers depended on their numbers and their careful organisation. If the alarm was soon given and they were few in number, they found it most prudent to beat a hasty retreat. If they were bent on making a good haul, they attacked the peel tower, which held within its enclosure a store of cattle whose capture would give them a profitable return. The inhabitants of the peel were reinforced by the sturdiest of the fugitives from the neighbourhood, and behind their palisade prepared to fight for their possessions. If they were outnumbered, or if their assailants succeeded in setting fire to the palisade, the defence was not of long duration; but when the palisade was forced they retired into the fastness of their tower.

The peels were always strongly built and could stand a siege even of some days. They were generally three stories high, and were accessible only by a ladder which led to a wooden platform in front of the door, which was on the first story. The ground-floor

room was entered by a trapdoor in the floor of the room above, and probably was mainly used for storing food and for the purposes of a kitchen. It was the work of a few moments to flee into the tower, draw up the platform and the ladder, and secure the door. The ground-floor room was vaulted with stone, and if the assailants managed to make a breach and take possession of it they still had to fight their way upwards before they could capture the garrison, who could retreat, if need were, to the roof. In the face of these difficulties it would seem that a siege was not very common. If the object of the raid were merely plunder, a siege was not worth while, as nothing was to be gained. If the object were revenge, the most effectual way of reducing the garrison was to force a breach into the ground-floor room, fill it with damp hay and set it on fire, so that the dense cloud of smoke suffocated the defenders into surrender. Only when a large force was in pursuit of some notorious offender was it worth while to undertake the siege of a peel tower systematically by undermining it or pulling it down.

These peels were scattered throughout the district, and many of them still survive. Some are in ruins and some have been converted into farm buildings. Many more are unrecognised by the traveller because they have been incorporated into houses of later date; in fact there is scarcely a country house of any importance or antiquity along the Borders of which the kernel is not a peel tower, hidden by the buildings which cluster round it. In some cases it would seem as if the parish priest had moved his patron, or it may be the men of the township, to build for the common good a peel tower

which served as the priest's house. In other cases the tower of the church was built after the fashion of a peel and was used as a place of refuge for parishioners in distress. Besides being fortresses, these peels were also watchtowers, and on their roofs the men of the township, in times of danger, kept watch and ward by night. An iron basket contained faggots, ready to be lighted as a beacon to warn the neighbourhood of the advance of marauders and summon them to aid. It seems probable that, in course of time, these peels were formed into a connected system, and were built so that each one was in view of its neighbour on either side. The military organisation of the Romans was revived in a ruder form.

The homes of the peasants were huts of clay, frequently with the floor scooped out, so as to resemble the beehive huts of primitive times. They were thatched with straw, and were mere shelters against the weather. They contained no furniture, save perhaps a few wooden stools; the beds were litters of straw. There was nothing to tempt the cupidity of the plunderer, and the destruction of the house was not worth the time which it would take. The common way of doing mischief was to fire the thatch, when the fire caused the walls to crumble. To prevent this loss the Borderer, if he had time, tore down the thatch of his house when a raid was announced; then he gathered his cattle and drove them to a place of safety. His wife walked by his side, carrying all the accumulated wealth of the family in a few personal ornaments which hung around her neck.

A special difficulty beset those who tried to keep

order on the Western March. Some eight miles north of Carlisle lay a strip of land which was claimed by Scotland and England alike. It would seem that in the peace with Robert Bruce the exact boundary between the two countries had not been determined, and the district which reached from the junction of the Liddel and the Esk to the Solway was long known as the Debatable Land. Its dwellers were free from any allegiance, and set an example which was largely followed by their neighbours of Liddesdale, who troubled themselves little about the commands either of the English or Scottish King. In fact amongst these Borderers a clan system prevailed; and the families of the Armstrongs, Eliots, Grahams, and others lived without paying much heed to any external authority.

This was so patent that little attempt was made to enforce on the Border the ordinary laws of England. The crimes and wrongs there committed were not like those which were committed elsewhere. They were the results of an exceptional condition of society, which had created manners and customs of its own. The deeds of the Borderers might be contrary to the laws of more settled society, but they were in accordance with the actual facts of their own lives. The habits of war had been of such long standing that they had formed a second nature, and peace only meant to the Borderer a time in which personal dexterity was substituted for the more highly organised brutality of military expeditions. When the two nations desired peace for a time, it was felt that the main difficulty lay in the inflammable conditions of the Borders, which might rekindle war at any moment. The management of the

Borders had to be conducted on international rather than on national principles.

Thus the Wardens of the Marches developed a governmental system of their own. The power of the Warden was very large; he appointed his own officers, was at the head of a large force, and could summon all the men of his March under arms. In time of peace his chief duty was to confer with the Warden of the opposite March in Scotland and arrange for the redress of international grievances. For this purpose he represented his sovereign, exercised almost royal power over all persons within the district committed to his charge, and could execute summary justice. The time for a meeting was arranged by agreement between the two Wardens, and the date was made known by proclamation in all markets on either side. Those who were aggrieved by any of the opposite nation presented to their Warden bills of complaint, which he forwarded to his brother Warden, so that the persons charged might be arrested and brought for trial. All lords, knights, and gentlemen living on the Marches were ordered to accompany their Warden as an escort to the place where the interview was to be held.

On the appointed day a military cavalcade set forth to the bleak cairn on the moorland which marked the accustomed spot for holding the Wardens' Court. Thither the two processions moved from either country, and many an eye glistened wistfully as old enemies recognised one another and remembered their last meeting in the field. Each party halted on its own soil; and first the English Warden sent out four horsemen to demand of the Scottish Warden an assurance of peace till the next

day at sunrise. When this was given, the Scottish Warden in like manner despatched an embassy with a similar request to his English brother. Then the two Wardens, advancing, lifted up their hands in token that they were satisfied with each other's pledges. After that, proclamation was made by each Warden to his followers, bidding them observe the assurance and warning them to abstain from any act of violence.

When all these precautions had been taken, the English Warden crossed the Border; for the meeting-place was generally on the Scottish side. After saluting each other the two Wardens proceeded to nominate a jury of twelve. The English Warden chose six Scots, and administered to them an oath that they would do justice fairly; the Scottish Warden similarly chose six Englishmen. Then the Wardens retired with their clerks; the bills which had been presented were read over, and it was decided which cases should be tried, and in what order. Generally those which were of most recent date were tried first. The complaints for the most part were of robbery, and the complainant's bill contained a list of his losses and a computation of their value, supported by the oath of his neighbours, under the seal of the nearest mayor or bailiff. If the accused denied his guilt, the case might be decided in several ways. First, his Warden might declare upon his honour that he believed him to be guiltless, in which case the bill was filed (or cleared) by writing in the margin, 'Clear, as I am verily persuaded upon my conscience and honour.' If the Warden did not feel that he could interfere personally, the case was referred to the jury, English complaints

being decided by the Scottish jurors and Scottish complaints by the English jurors. If they were of opinion that the charge was proved, they filed the bill by writing upon it 'Foull;' and if they fixed the responsibility upon some particular person named they wrote 'Foull upon such a man.' It generally happened that the jurors, unless they knew the facts of the case upon their personal knowledge, were unwilling to convict on the testimony of witnesses of the opposite nation, and a complainant was only secure of a verdict when he could produce an 'avower,' that is, a witness of the same nation as the accused, who was ready to avow, either openly or secretly, to the jurors or to the Wardens, the truth of the alleged charges.

While these trials were going on, the Wardens were engaged in settling their accounts for the bills which had been filed at their last meeting. The Warden was bound, when anyone had been convicted, to bring him and hand him over to the Warden of the other district; if he was unable to do so, he delivered up one of his own servants as a surety that he would do his utmost to apprehend the real culprit in a reasonable time. When a culprit was so handed over, he was kept in prison till redress was made, and if no steps were taken for that purpose within forty days, he might be put to death. When the Warden gave up his own servant as a pledge, he was bound either to send the real culprit in exchange or to ransom him at his own expense.

When their business was finished the Wardens made proclamations in their joint names of the conclusions which had been arrived at. 'We do give to wit that the

Lord Wardens of England and Scotland, and Scotland and England, have very well agreed, and agreeable to the laws of the Marches have made answer and delivery, foul or clean, of all the bills enrolled.' They further named another day of truce, within forty days at the furthest, and charged all men to keep good order and peace until the next meeting. Then they took leave of one another with much ceremony and departed.

Such was the system of jurisdiction on the Border as it existed on paper in its ideal form; but this ideal was rarely realised. Not till the reign of Elizabeth was any serious effort made to reduce the Borders to order. Before that time endeavours were only spasmodic; the periods of truce were short, and no one supposed that they would last long. The growth of the Border laws was rather a testimony to a respect for the fundamental principles of society than a workable code. At times a vigorous Warden might bestir himself, but the prospects of permanent peace were rarely bright enough to give him much encouragement. Certainly the system was never applied with sufficient constancy to check the growth of predatory habits. Yet the men of the Middle Ages believed in law though they did not obey it. They were tenacious of rights even if they shirked the corresponding duties. Every man liked to feel that there was a means of redressing his grievances, even if it was seldom available for use. Though he sinned he believed in righteousness: though the world was full of confusion he believed in a reign of law. He would not willingly see the theories of righteousness, or of law abandoned, or think that they were not applicable to himself and his own individual

life. Not only did he believe in an ideal, but he wished to see that ideal worked out into a system. He was not so desirous that the system should be really operative.

It was in the midst of such a district and under the impression of such ideas that the citizens of Carlisle carried on their municipal life, following as best they could the pattern which prevailed in the rest of England. We have traced the steps of the process by which they bought their freedom to manage their own affairs. It is more difficult to determine the growth of the body which undertook the management. The early charters are addressed merely to the citizens of Carlisle, and the first mention of a mayor is made in the year 1292. We cannot doubt that in Carlisle, as elsewhere, the municipal organisation developed out of the free merchant guild, which was recognised by the royal licence and so was the natural body for transacting the city's business. Its members were townsmen who possessed land within the town, and in course of time such a body became an oligarchy. But the principle of voluntary association on which it rested was capable of extension, and was everywhere extended by those who found themselves outside the privileged class. The merchant guild managed the business of the town, but took no counsel with the handicraftsmen, the new settlers, or the landless men who were within the city walls. It was therefore natural that the craftsmen in each trade should in their turn form guilds of their own for the protection and furtherance of their own interests. So we find in Carlisle eight craft guilds, which gradually formed themselves into separate organisations—the

weavers, the smiths, the tailors, the tanners, the shoemakers, the glovers, the butchers, and the merchants or general traders.

These guilds were in their origin something like our trades unions, benefit societies which broadened into associations dealing with all matters of common interest to their members. Perhaps their primary purpose was more like that of a burial club than anything else, with a strong religious and social side. The care for the burial of the members was the first object, and meeting for religious observances was the second; but conviviality and good-fellowship came spontaneously, and though not so strongly avowed formed probably the strongest bond. But the religious basis was always clearly marked, and on great festivals the guilds assembled to do honour to their city and its church. On Corpus Christi Day each guild came together, and followed its banner to St. Mary's churchyard, each of the members bearing a lighted candle, and some carrying the image of their patron saint or any other emblem which they might possess. A fine of sixpence was levied on everyone who did not come to do his duty on this great occasion. They marched into the church where mass was sung: then the procession, headed by the clergy bearing the image of the Virgin, wound through the narrow streets. When the religious rites were over the rest of the day was given to such amusements as they could provide—a mystery or miracle play, bull-baiting, athletic sports, and the like. Then the guild members withdrew to the guildhall and finished the day in convivial fashion.

Doubtless the crafts guilds had many conflicts with

the ruling guild of merchants; but Carlisle produced no city chronicle and we know nothing of their struggles. Indeed, we would scarcely go to Carlisle for a study of the normal development of municipal organisation. It is enough to see that the burghers of Carlisle maintained a civic life like that of other towns, though it would seem that they were affected by the rude manners of the Borderers around them. The market of Carlisle was naturally a place for the disposal of stolen goods, and it is not without significance that much of the trade of the city was concerned with the hides of cattle. Four of the eight crafts were the butchers, skinners and glovers, tanners, and shoemakers. The men of Carlisle seem to have thought that there was nothing like leather; and indeed it was well that the cattle sold in Carlisle market should as soon as possible be made unrecognisable, so as to escape identification by any anxious claimant from the Scottish side who was pursuing stolen property. We can well imagine that there was much expedition shown in executing the processes by which the carcasses of oxen were placed in the brine-tub and their hides were stripped of tell-tale hair. When that was done the glovers and shoemakers might pursue their task more leisurely.

So the trade of Carlisle depended largely upon the predatory habits of the district, where along the Esk the Graemes or Grahams formed a clan which carried on an unending feud against the Armstrongs, who dwelt along the Liddel. The valley of the Esk opened eastward out of the moors of Bewcastle, and the men of Bewcastle formed a flying squadron of irregulars, who acted as an outpost to the Castle of Naworth, just as

the men of Eskdale did useful service for the captain of Carlisle. In both cases the help of these irregulars was accepted because of its utility, and their thieving propensities were connived at as being part of their habits and customs. At times it was necessary for the authorities to utter a protest and threaten to take measures of repression; but no one took the matter very seriously, and the Borderers were allowed to go their own way unless they infringed the limits of the district which custom had assigned to their ravages.

CHAPTER VI.

BORDER WARFARE. 1485–1551.

THE accession of the Tudor dynasty to the English throne opened a new era in the relations between England and Scotland. Henry VII. was above all things desirous to have peace and order in his kingdom, both because he saw that his people needed order for the development of their increasing trade, and because he had to guard his throne against pretenders whose claims he knew were sure to be furthered by hostile neighbours. Accordingly he did his utmost to make peace with Scotland upon an enduring basis, and not even the help given by the Scottish King to Perkin Warbeck turned him from his pacific intentions, though he took precautions for the defence of the English Border by appointing the Earl of Surrey Warden of the West and Middle Marches. He gave an earnest of his good intentions towards Scotland by pressing for a settlement of the exact boundary between the two kingdoms. The existence of a 'Debatable Land' was naturally a fertile cause of disagreement, and led further to a standing dispute about the right of fishing in the river Esk. The Esk was the boundary of the Debatable Land on the English side, and in the middle of the fifteenth century the Cumbrian Borderers set up a dam, or 'fish garth,'

by which they were enabled to catch the fish as they ascended from the Solway. This procedure cut off the fish, which formerly passed up the river and formed part of the food supply of the Scots who dwelt along the upper Esk. Complaints were made; the fish garth was frequently torn down and as often rebuilt. Henry VII. referred the question to a commission in 1494; but even the united wisdom of the commissioners could go no further than agree that damage done to the fish garth should not be considered as a breach of the peace.

So too with the boundaries of the Debatable Land. It was found better to leave the territory undivided. Its limits were well ascertained, and custom had made its occupation a more peaceful matter than might have been imagined. Both nations had been accustomed 'to pasture upon the same ground with bit of mouth, from the sun-rising to the sun-setting, with all manner of cattle;' but all enclosures or houses raised upon it might be destroyed or burned, and all goods or cattle found there at night might be seized. In fact the land by consent of both nations was regarded as a common, with the rights of pasture strictly limited to the hours of daylight, to avoid confusion. Perhaps the usefulness of this strip of neutral ground as a meeting-place was felt by all parties. At all events it survived Henry's efforts for a division, and remained an international common till 1552.

Henry VII. pursued his pacific policy with a view to detach Scotland from its old alliance with France and make it instead the ally of England. Such a change could not be made easily, and it took a century before the work was accomplished. But in 1499 a

peace was made with Scotland, and Henry showed his sincerity by giving his young daughter Margaret in marriage to James IV. of Scotland in 1502. This began a period of more cordial relations between the two countries, which did not last long enough to overcome the antipathies of the Borderers, but was enough to give a new turn to their mutual dealings. Intercourse was more frequent and more friendly, and an idea of common interest sprang up, which subsequent quarrels did not entirely quench.

It is probably to this period of a lull in the long-continued warfare that we may refer, more definitely than to any other time, one of the great characteristics of the Borders, their wealth of ballad poetry. This is mainly the possession of the Scottish Borderers, or at all events it has been mainly claimed for them. This is due to the fact that a much greater extent of territory on the Scottish side was subject to the conditions of Border life. Scotland was more easily accessible from England than was England from Scotland, and the parts of England which were exposed to devastation were not so well suited for human habitation. The range of the Cheviots on the Scottish side fades into a number of fertile valleys, while on the English side it makes way for moorland. Moreover the authority of the Crown in Scotland had not carried national organisation so far as in England, where the lawless features of Border life were repressed when the region was passed within which they were a social necessity.

We must admit, therefore, that the Borders belong more fully to Scottish than to English history, and that the results of Border habits and of Border life are more

clearly traceable in Scotland than in England. Especially is this the case with the poetic expression of the feelings which this rude life engendered. In a district teeming with opportunities for adventure it was natural that men should recall the doings of their forefathers, and rude ditties which recounted them were handed down from mouth to mouth. But these traditional stories owe their poetic value to the pathos wherewith reflection clothed the stern narrative of a savage past, and it is hard to determine at whose hands or at what period the ballads which have come down to us assumed their present form. It is, however, clear that early in the sixteenth century the wandering minstrel was well known along the Borders, and was everywhere a welcome guest, being sure in any cottage of food and shelter in return for his gift of song. Mr. Ruskin has well assigned as one of the causes of Border minstrelsy 'the soldier's life, passing gradually, not in cowardice or under conquest, into that of the shepherd; thus without humiliation leaving the war-wounded past to be recalled for its sorrow and its fame.' The end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century was a period when men could first be dimly conscious of such a process, and the course of the sixteenth century deepened the impression. It is to this date that we may perhaps refer the existing forms of the older ballads; while a plentiful supply of new ballads commemorated incidents which men saw occurring around them.

This ballad poetry throws much light on the history of Carlisle, which is, indeed, the centre round which are gathered the tales which especially deal with Border adventure. The highest feat of cleverness and courage

is to outwit the Captain of Carlisle, who is the standing avenger of lawlessness and the representative of order, not, however, removed from the influence of prevailing sentiment, but a kindly and intelligent sharer in the common fortunes. The ballad of 'The Lochmaben Harper,' though of a later date, may serve as an example of the way in which the English Warden was made to take the part of the father in Latin comedy, and became the subject of every form of clever deception.

The ballad tells how a blind harper of Lochmaben saddled his grey mare, which had lately foaled, and set forth in quest of adventures.

So he is up to England gone,
And ever as fast as he may drie;
And when he cam to Carlisle gate,
Oh, whae was there but the Warden hie?

'Come into my hall, thou silly blind harper,
And of thy harping let me hear.'
'Oh, by my south,' quo' the silly blind harper,
'I wad rather hae stabling for my mare.'

The Warden looked ower his left shoulder,
And said unto his stable groom,
'Gae take the silly blind harper's mare
And tie her beside my Wanton brown.'

Then aye he harped, and aye he carped,
Till a' the lordlings footed the floor;
But, an the music was sae sweet,
The groom had nae mind o' the stable door.

And aye he harped, and aye he carped,
Till a' the nobles were fast asleep;
Then quickly he took off his shoon
And softly down the stair did creep.

The rest of the story can well be imagined. The harper tied the Warden's favourite Wanton by a halter to the tail of his old grey mare, which galloped off home to join its foal.

Now all this while in merry Carlisle
  The harper harped to hie and law;
And the fiend dought they do but listen him to,
  Until the day began to dawn.

But on the morn at fair daylight,
  When they had ended a' their cheer,
Behold the Wanton brown was gane,
  And eke the poor blind harper's mare.

'Allace, allace,' quo' the cunning auld harper,
  'And ever allace that I came here!
In Scotland I hae lost a braw cowt foal,
  In England they've stown my gude grey mare!'

'Come, cease thy allacing, thou silly blind harper,
  And again of thy harping let us hear!
And weel paid sall thy cowt foal be,
  And thou sall have a far better mare!'

Then aye he harped, and aye he carped;
  Sae sweet were the harpings he let them hear,
He was paid for the foal he never lost,
  And three times ower for the gude grey mare.

We may wish that such devotion to the charms of music, even if bought at such a price, had been a commoner feature in the life of Carlisle Castle. The time was soon approaching when the days of peaceful intercourse were to end for a long period, and Border warfare was to assume a more relentless and savage character

than it had ever worn before. Henry VIII., in his desire for glory, abandoned the cautious policy of his father, and entered upon the troubled sea of continental politics at the instigation of his father-in-law, the crafty Ferdinand of Aragon. A powerful coalition was formed against France, and James IV. of Scotland viewed with alarm an attack upon the power which had so long been Scotland's close ally. We need not follow in detail the reasons which induced the Scottish King to take advantage of Henry's absence abroad, and plan the ill-judged expedition into England which was so signally avenged on Flodden Field. The Earl of Surrey gathered together the forces of the north, and Lord Dacre of Naworth led the men of Cumberland to join his host at Newcastle, and take their share in the fight of September 9, 1513, in which the Scots were not only defeated, but met with so heavy a loss that they were left powerless. Their king fell in the battle, and almost every family in Scotland had to mourn some of its chief members. Scotland was left with an infant king under the care of a queen-mother whom no one trusted, and who was the sister of the English King. The appointment of a regent who had been brought up in France, the Duke of Albany, the nearest male relative of the King, only served to make England more actively hostile.

Albany was a mere instrument of the French King, and had little interest in Scotland. He came to Scotland when it was necessary to annoy Henry VIII. and departed as soon as this object was useless. The Scottish nobles, meanwhile, were turbulent and formed themselves into opposing factions, while English money

was spent in inflaming their rivalries. In fact, Scotland was now merely a piece, which might be moved when necessary, in the political game which was being played between France and England.

It was, however, a piece whose moves were very annoying to Henry and Wolsey; so much so, that Wolsey organised a method by which the influence of Scotland might be neutralised. The French King calculated that he could send the Duke of Albany to Scotland when he pleased; and Albany, invested with the power of regent, could threaten to invade England and win the Scots to join in the enterprise by holding out hopes of French assistance. Wolsey determined to teach the Scots that the gratification of their national pride, by the assumption of a threatening attitude now and then, was dearly bought. On the one hand, he offered Scotland terms of peace if she would abandon the French alliance; on the other hand, he used the normal turbulence of the Borders as a cover for carrying on a ruthless war of devastation, without breaking the provisions of any truce or peace made between England and France. Thus the characteristics of Border life were deliberately stereotyped, because of their political utility for the moment. Scotland was never allowed to rest. The English Borderers were incited to prefer all manner of grievances; and if redress was not immediately given, the men of the English Border were reinforced by a body of troops, and a raid was begun which aimed at inflicting the greatest possible amount of damage. Under the pretence of redressing wrongs and enforcing obedience to old customs a cruel warfare was carried on. Villages were burned; churches and

monasteries were destroyed. The avowed object was to turn the Scottish Border into a desert and make the country powerless to threaten England in the interests of France.

The chief command of the English forces in this atrocious form of warfare was committed to the Earl of Surrey; but Lord Dacre was Warden of the Western March, and his letters to the English Council are monotonous records of his success in the work of destruction. In the district north of the Debatable Land he reports, 'whereas there were in time passed four hundred ploughs and above, which are now clearly wasted, and no man dwelling in any of them in this day.' It is not surprising that the Scots, when they had an opportunity, made reprisals, and wrought havoc on the English, so that the whole district is reported as 'in great ruin and out of all good order.' It was in this period that the Border clans were definitely formed and that the element of savagery was introduced into Border life. Hitherto the Borderers had only introduced the customs of warfare into their life, which in the main held to the recognised code of social duty. Now under the influence of this brutal treatment Border life began to slip away from its connexion with civilisation. The Borderers ceased to regard themselves as bound by any laws, and degenerated into gangs of brigands, whose hand was against every man and who made little distinction between friend and foe. The English Government soon found that it was easy to create this state of society, but difficult to end it. It was the result of a few years of infamous politics, but it took half a century to bring things back again even to the rude

condition which existed before deliberate barbarity intensified its worst features.

We need not follow out the details of this disastrous period, which deepened the sternness and grimness of the character of the men of the Borders to a degree which is still noticeable. It created among them an habitual caution and reserve, and gave them an outer crust of hardness and suspicion, which a stranger still finds that he has to penetrate before he reaches the staunchness and warm-heartedness, which are no less remarkable when once they are brought into play. Though external nature has repaired man's ravages long ago, their traces still remain and are visible in the characters of men whose ancestors went through a period of suffering in which they had to trust only to themselves and live a rude life of isolation.

In 1522 Carlisle ran a narrow risk of capture by the Scots. The Duke of Albany gathered the Scottish host for the invasion of England, and advanced along the west. Lord Dacre was not prepared to meet him in the field, and the walls of Carlisle were in such a crumbling state that it was unable to endure a siege. Perhaps this was owing to the fact that the tide of warfare had in late years rolled along the eastern side of the Border, and Henry VIII.'s lavish expenditure on military matters had been directed towards the defences of the country against an invasion from the Continent. But Dacre was not a man to despair; his life had been spent in Border warfare, and he knew the feebleness of Albany as a general. He knew that Albany had no stomach for a fight, but preferred a military parade, and he resolved to deal with him accordingly. He

gathered such forces as he could and made a show of defending Carlisle. He waited till Albany had advanced within five miles of the city, and then proposed a conference. With a lofty mien he entered Albany's camp and treated with him as though he were in command of equal forces. So entirely was Albany deceived by his appearance of confidence that he agreed to a truce, and to the great disgust of the Scottish lords led his forces back without striking a blow. Dacre, with grim humour, wrote to Wolsey an account of what he had done; but, even so, he was reprimanded for making a truce with the enemy without the King's permission, and had humbly to ask for pardon.

Dacre's resoluteness and skill averted a serious danger. The knowledge of its gravity led to more attention being given to Scottish affairs, and also led to a restoration of the defences of Carlisle. The walls of the Castle were repaired and portions were rebuilt; the inner walls were strengthened, to enable them to carry cannon. Moreover orders were given for the repair of the city walls, which, taking the Castle for their base on the north, formed an irregular triangle, of which the apex was on the south. In the circuit of the walls were three gates; and as the northern gate was naturally called the Scotch Gate, the others were called Irish Gate and English Gate, in compliment to the other nationalities in whose direction they faced. Near the English Gate, at the southern apex of the triangle formed by the walls, Henry VIII. caused a further defence to be erected for the city. This, which was known as the Citadel, consisted of two great circular towers with embrasured parapets and loopholes. These

towers were placed some hundred and fifty feet apart, and were connected by a wall along which ran a covered gallery. The English Gate opened beneath the shelter of the western tower. The entrance to the Citadel was cut off from the city by a moat and a drawbridge, and perhaps the intention was that it should form a second defence, strong enough to be held independently, even if the Castle at the opposite end of the town had fallen into the hands of the enemy. Like the other military works on which Henry VIII. squandered the money which he obtained from spoiling the Church, the Citadel of Carlisle does not seem to have been of much practical use. It added little to the military strength of the town, which still depended for protection on its Castle alone.

When peace was made with Scotland in 1525 it was found that the lawlessness on the Borders was a source of great trouble to both kingdoms. The Borderland had become a shelter to rebels, traitors, outlaws, and 'broken men' of every sort. Especially was this the case on the Scottish side, where the clan of the Armstrongs, contrary to old usage, had established themselves on the Debatable Land and had built themselves towers. It was in vain that the Earl of Cumberland, Warden of the West March, preferred his complaints that the Armstrongs were the terror of Cumberland, where they 'ran day forays, robbed, spoiled, burned, and murdered.' At last in 1527 Lord Dacre summoned to his aid the men of Carlisle, and with a force of 2,000 men marched against these marauders. We do not know the details of his campaign; but he made an attack on the Hollows Tower, on

the banks of the Esk, where he was defeated by the Armstrongs, who thereupon burned Netherby and devastated Cumberland. Dacre, however, returned to the work, and after some difficulty succeeded in clearing the Debatable Land, though he was unable to subdue the Armstrongs. The Scottish Warden came to his help, but did not fare much better. One of the severest blows struck at the power of the Armstrong clan was a prohibition to frequent Carlisle market. This fact alone gives us an indication of the dubious position which Carlisle occupied. Nominally it was the seat of law and order; really its citizens welcomed the freebooters, who lived on the pillage of their neighbours. The men of Carlisle were doubtless patriotic, but their patriotism was not so severe as to stand in the way of making profits by trading with an enemy in goods stolen from a friend. 'Business is business' was a maxim quite as well known in the sixteenth century as in the nineteenth.

In fact, now that England wished for peace with Scotland, it reaped the fruits of its own iniquitous policy. Its ruthless military raids had not destroyed the Scots, but had only barbarised them and the English to boot. Moreover the Scots throve better on barbarity than did the English. It was soon discovered that the English Border was not so strong 'either in captains or commonalty' as was the Scottish Border. The Armstrongs and their adherents were computed at over 3,000 horsemen, and England had to beseech the Scottish King to reduce them to order. The young James V. undertook the task, and in 1530 made an expedition to the Border, summoned the chief of the Armstrong clan to

appear before him, and ordered him off to instant execution. It was an unexpected treatment of a man who believed that he was doing his country service, and who apparently met the King without suspicion of his approaching fate; and the Borderers long considered that John Armstrong had been treacherously ensnared and cruelly murdered. However with his fall the power of the Armstrongs was broken; and the example thus made of a distinguished leader had a sobering effect upon the English Borderers, and especially upon the men of Carlisle, who had had no scruples in making themselves his accomplices.

In the years which followed, the attention of Englishmen was exclusively devoted to the great social and religious changes which were being wrought at home. We know almost nothing of the details of the dissolution of the monasteries in Cumberland. It would seem that the people sulkily acquiesced. Their sympathies were with the monks, but the dissolution did not intimately affect them. The monasteries were not important corporations in a district so exposed to attack. They were poor and small; their tenants were not a numerous body, nor did they feel much difference in a change of landlords. The social revolution which was wrought in other parts of England did not produce any marked results in Cumberland. It is true that the monasteries of Lanercost, Wetheral, and Holme Cultram all disappeared from the neighbourhood of Carlisle. The Augustinian Canons were ejected from the Cathedral, and their place was supplied by a smaller number of priests, who did not much differ from those whom they succeeded. They lived in common, dining together

in the refectory and handing over the dormitory to the choristers. Some slight recognition was made of the needs of the place by the foundation of a grammar school which should continue the educational work previously carried on under the care of the Augustinian Canons. Most probably the men of Carlisle thought that the King must have his way, but were themselves without any sympathy with his proceedings. Their religious sentiment was strong, but they were not theologians. The new Canons made little difference in the conduct of the services; the opinions of the people remained unchanged. But they had no taste for rebellion, and we do not find that the men of Carlisle took any part in the 'Pilgrimage of Grace,' which was the rising of the men of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire to protest against the wrong inflicted upon them by the violent dissolution of the monasteries and the consequent changes in social life—changes by which the poor suffered while the county gentry and the middle classes filled their pockets. The rising was put down; but before its final repression it raised an echo in Westmoreland, where Nicholas Musgrave and other gentlemen, who looked with disapproval on the prevailing spoliation, raised a body of 8,000 men at Kirkby Stephen. It would seem that they recognised in the garrison of Carlisle the chief support of the King's cause in the north; if that were removed they might join with the Scots in behalf of the old religion. Accordingly in February 1538 they marched upon Carlisle; but the less skilled levies of Westmoreland were not a match for the practised soldiers of the Border. The citizens of Carlisle and their garrison were strong enough to

drive back the rebels without needing any further help. The Duke of Norfolk, who was hastening northwards with reinforcements, found nothing left for him to do save to fall upon the fugitives. Many were slain and many more were taken prisoners. Seventy-four of them were brought to Carlisle and hanged as rebels on the city walls. Popular discontent in these days met with no sentimental compassion. England went through a great revolution; and those who hesitated to advance quickly enough found themselves regarded as rebels and were dealt with by military law.

Henry VIII., indeed, was not only determined to have his own way, but demanded that everyone else should confess that it was the best possible way. He was not satisfied that the Scottish King should remain on terms of friendship, but urged him to follow his example and deal after his manner with the Scottish Church. In his last years he renewed his war with France, and was anxious to separate Scotland from its French alliance. In 1542 war was proclaimed against Scotland, and Carlisle again became a place of arms. The Duke of Norfolk led an army into Scotland and laid waste the land. James V. summoned his forces to defend Edinburgh, but before the Scots had time to assemble Norfolk had finished his work of devastation and retired in triumph. Then James's mind was bent upon retaliation, and he determined to capture Carlisle and lay waste the Western March. On November 24, ten thousand men were assembled quietly at Lochmaben, and were sent forth to fulfil their errand. They crossed the Esk by night and set fire to every habitation. The Borderers were taken by surprise; but Sir Thomas

Wharton, captain of Carlisle, Lord Dacre, and other gentlemen collected their men and advanced to fight for their homes. Meanwhile there was dissension in the Scottish ranks, for the nobles were aggrieved when they found that the command of the expedition had been given to a worthless favourite of the King, to the exclusion of those who prided themselves on their ancestral claims. The discord of the leaders spread among their followers; and when in the evening the handful of Englishmen ventured to fall on the Scottish host a few miles north of Carlisle they met with little organised resistance. The host became a rabble and rapidly turned to flee. The Scots were not, like their opponents, intimately acquainted with the ground, and the greater part of them fled westwards till they reached the treacherous region which lies around the estuary of the Solway. The tide was rising and many were caught in its waters; others floundered helplessly in the pitfalls of Solway Moss. Many perished in the water, many were slain, and many were taken prisoners. Never was a more crushing and ignominious disaster. The army of Scotland was destroyed by the men of Carlisle and its neighbourhood. It was certainly the most signal achievement ever wrought by the men of an English town.

This unexpected reverse had important effects in Scottish history. James V. was so overpowered with shame that he succumbed to an illness and died on December 13. At a great crisis of events Scotland was left without a head, and the heir to the throne was a girl only a week old.

It might have been supposed that Scotland was now

sufficiently reduced to be no longer formidable; but such was not the opinion of Henry VIII. He gave orders to the Wardens that Scotland was to be harassed as much as possible, apparently in the hope of terrifying the Scots into giving up their infant queen to his guardianship. Accordingly the English Wardens seem to have encouraged the lawless clans of the Border to work all the devastation which they could. It was not war which was waged between two nations; it was organised pillage by a combination of bodies of outlaws and robbers whom England secretly stirred up. The Armstrongs and other Scots set to work cheerfully to avenge themselves on the lands of the lord of Buccleuch. The Grahams, the Forsters, all who would, burned and plundered at will, and sent in to Lord Wharton records of their atrocities, which were forwarded for the amusement of the English King. The net result was that between August 1543 and December 1544 there are accounts of the burning of 192 'towns, towers, stedes, barmkyns, parish churches, and castle houses;' while the booty amounted to 10,386 cattle, 12,492 sheep, 1,296 horses, 200 goats, 850 bolls of corn, together with 'much insight,' i.e. goods and household stuff. It is no wonder that the character of the Borderers grew more and more savage, and that all sense of law and order disappeared.

In 1545 the Scots won a victory at Ancrum Moor, which only brought upon them a fierce retaliation. In September, when their harvest was ripe, the Earl of Hertford led into Scotland a host of 12,000 men, who carried fire and sword through Teviotdale and reduced the Scottish Border to a complete waste. It was the

ruthlessness of English insolence, and not the fanaticism of Scottish Calvinism, which laid in ruins the Border Abbeys of Kelso, Jedburgh, Dryburgh, and Melrose. Nor did the death of Henry VIII., in 1547, bring to an end this policy of stupid barbarity. Hertford, who on the young king's accession was declared Protector and was created Duke of Somerset, still thought that by force of arms he could compel the marriage of Mary of Scotland to Edward VI. The only result of the battle of Pinkie Cleugh was that Mary was hurriedly sent to France, and Scotland, though exhausted, was still unsubdued. It is true that England remained in possession of much of the Scottish Border; but the Scots with the help of French troops recovered the captured strongholds. England, at war with France and weakened by internal disorders, was driven to make a peace, which included Scotland, in 1551. This long period of inhuman warfare came to an end through exhaustion; and England had no gain to show, which might be pleaded as an excuse for the barbarities which she had wrought.

CHAPTER VII.

RESTORATION OF ORDER. 1551–1603.

THE fall of the Protector Somerset and the accession to power of John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, who soon received the title of Duke of Northumberland, inaugurated a new line of policy on the Borders. England was too feeble to make head against France and Scotland. Ravaging and plundering had not reduced Scotland to throw herself at the feet of England, but had only strengthened the somewhat waning connexion between Scotland and France. It was now the interest of England to try and secure peace with Scotland; and both countries had an interest in endeavouring to establish some order on the Borders, where the population had been harried into leading the lives of bandits. The Debatable Land had become the refuge of notorious criminals and outlaws from both countries, who were known as the 'Batables.' The first step in the restoration of order was to oust these men from their strongholds. The Debatable Land, instead of being a common of pasture, had become a harbour of ruffians, and in face of this fact the old objections to its division disappeared. Both countries waived their claim to its exclusive possession, and in 1552 a joint commission portioned it equally and erected a dyke to mark the boundaries.

One of the great characteristics of the Borders disappeared, and the district north of Carlisle was henceforth amenable to the ordinary law. This was a great step in advance and rendered government possible.

The new Duke of Northumberland was keen about the pacification of the Borders. He was Warden-General, and in that capacity made a survey of the Marches. He inspected the fortresses and held Warden courts at Newcastle, Alnwick, and Carlisle, redressing grievances and organising measures of police. When he departed he left Lord Wharton as his deputy, with instructions that he was to carry on the same line of action. Lord Wharton took counsel with the chief men on the Marches, and drew up a series of regulations for their protection. The stringency of the system so contemplated, and its completeness, show how entirely the Borders were given over to robbery. It was agreed that a strict watch be kept, both by day and night, along the whole frontier line, especially by the passes in the hills and the fords of the rivers. Each township was to furnish its quota of men under arms, who were to take their turns as watchmen; and the gentry of the neighbourhood were appointed overseers to set the watch and report upon its regularity. It was the duty of the watch to give the alarm on the approach of suspected persons by blowing a horn or lighting a beacon: when the signal was given, all men were bound to follow the fray on horse or foot. Those who allowed an offender to escape were to be imprisoned. All men who came within view of the watch were to be examined, and if unknown were to be brought before the bailiffs; if they could not give an account of them-

selves they were to be put in prison. No one was to hold converse with a Scot except by permission from the Warden.

Moreover, to make the work of defence more possible, needless fords along the rivers were to be done away, and the pasture and arable lands of the townships were to be enclosed by a ditch, surmounted by a stout hedge, so that robbers should not find it easy to drive away their booty. A great number of young thorns were sent for the purpose, and the resident gentry were entrusted with the duty of seeing that they were duly planted.

This special care for the Border can scarcely be put down entirely to Northumberland's disinterested desire for the good government of the realm. With the duchy of Northumberland he had acquired the estates of the Percy family, and so was really engaged in looking after the safety of his own possessions. But his plans seem to have had a wider bearing, for he obtained a grant of the stewardship of all the honours, castles, lordships, and lands belonging to the Crown in the northern counties, and he further passed an Act of Parliament for the suppression of the bishopric of Durham and the transference to himself of the palatine dignity. By this means he had gathered into his own hands an independent power over the district north of the Humber, and seems to have contemplated the formation of a sort of middle kingdom, which should pass to the Dudley family. Wild as this plan may seem to us, it did not present to Dudley any insuperable obstacles. The great revolution which England had passed through had unhinged men's minds and had raised up a spirit

of adventure to which all things were possible. There was no limit to the hopes of a clever schemer in a time when every man plotted for himself.

Northumberland's schemes, however, failed, because the early death of Edward VI. forced him to take precipitate action. Still his policy on the Borders survived his downfall, and Carlisle was frequently the meeting-place of conferences, sometimes between the English and Scottish Wardens, sometimes between commissioners of the two countries. There was a conception of an orderly and regular government; men at all events began to recover their ideal, though they might not be prepared to make any great sacrifice for it.

The accession of Elizabeth carried the matter still further. Nowhere do we see more clearly than in the history of the Border the operation of that systematic watchfulness and care for administrative detail which are really the foundation of the glory of the Elizabethan age. Cecil had grasped the fact that what England needed was a period of peace and of administrative reform. Elizabeth agreed with her prudent counsellor. The nobles and gentry had been long enough engaged in filling their pockets under various pretences; Elizabeth's parsimony consisted in making them render some return by serving the State for nothing. It is true that she did not always saddle the right men with this obligation; and while some were made to pay for past favours, others anticipated their future aggrandisement. Elizabeth knew how to scold and flatter, to bully and cajole, to use the power of a despot and the charms of a woman; and the result of her method was that she was better served by her officials than had been any

previous ruler of England. She attracted capable men to her court; she gave them hard work to do and held out illusory promises of great rewards; but she succeeded in getting a vast amount of hard work done in a thorough manner by men whose interests she skilfully interwove with her own, so that they became absolutely trustworthy without being indispensable.

The turn of events in Elizabeth's reign made Border affairs of great importance. The progress of the Reformation in Scotland definitely raised up a party among the Scots which was opposed to France and looked for help to England. Elizabeth used that party for her own purposes, and disavowed it when she thought fit. Secret negotiations had to be carried on with the Scottish lords, and this was largely done through the Captains of Berwick and Carlisle. As the conflict between Elizabeth and Mary of Scotland advanced, it was found that Mary had a party among the English Borderers, just as Elizabeth had a party among the Scots. For the skilful conduct of English affairs it was necessary that all occasions of disorder in the Border district should be removed, for they might at any moment broaden into large political issues.

We need not follow in detail the complicated dealings of Elizabeth with Scotland; it is enough to notice that the general effect upon Carlisle was to restore its municipal life and make it again an important city in the English kingdom. It was no longer merely the quarters of a garrison, nor was it the centre of a free-booting community; it was called upon to be a model of orderly civic life, an important part of a revived system of administration.

This was no easy matter, as the district not only laboured under the evil influences of Border feuds, but also was disunited in religion. The men of Cumberland had acquiesced in Henry VIII.'s religious changes, but the teaching of the Reformation was slow in penetrating among them. The old clergy disappeared, and few capable men were found to take their places. Parish churches fell out of repair, partly through neglect, partly through the disturbed state of the country. The Bishop of Carlisle, Owen Oglethorpe, seems to have represented the indecision of his people; he was the only one of the old bishops who consented to crown Elizabeth, but during the coronation service refused to obey her order that he should not elevate the host. Gratitude is due to the bishop who saved Elizabeth from the necessity of making a breach with the past, and allowed her to enter on her reign with the same ceremonies as English sovereigns had used before her. But Elizabeth soon showed that no man was to count on her gratitude. Oglethorpe's obedience in the matter of the coronation did not save him from deprivation, on his refusal to accept the new ecclesiastical legislation. The vacant see was offered in 1560 to a worthy North Country man, Bernard Gilpin, whose life was spent in trying to bring Christian principles to soften the hearts of the Borderers. But Gilpin shrank from a post of which he knew the difficulties only too well. He would not, he said, have refused another see; 'but in that place I have been willing to avoid the trouble of it, seeing I have there many of my friends and kindred, at whom I must connive in many things, not without hurt to myself, or else deny them many things, not without offence

to them.' The post was taken by a Yorkshireman, John Best, who 'met with very ill dealings in that country, replenished with Papists and such like.' Archbishop Grindal, who was a native of St. Bees, did his utmost to help him; but he wrote, 'There be marvellous practices to defame him in my lawless country. All his prebendaries are ignorant priests or old unlearned monks. I know the nature of my countrymen.' Evidently the Cumbrians had an evil reputation as a stiff-necked and obstinate generation. It was felt that the shattered organisation of the Church was powerless to produce much effect with the inadequate means which it could then command.

The revival of Carlisle came through the deliberate renewal of orderly municipal life, whether by the voluntary action of the citizens or in response to superior command we cannot say. However it came about, the government of the city was regulated in the year 1561 by a code of by-laws, contained in a book which is one of the most precious possessions of the city. Its title shows a consciousness of the importance of what was being done. 'This, called the Regestar, Governor, or Dormont[1] Book of the Comonwelth of thinhabitances within the citie of Carlell, renewed in the yere of our Lord God 1561.' It was meant to serve as the testimony and support of a new and orderly life in a town which had suffered much from disorder.

The evidence which it contains of the method by

[1] The word 'Dormont' has been explained as a corruption of *Liber Dominationis*; more probably it is a cognate expression with 'Ledger,' or 'Coucher Book,' and is a form of *Dormant*, meaning the book which lay upon the table.

which it was compiled shows us the growth of the civic constitution during the period of which we have no record. We have seen that the original civic body was the Merchant Guild, which became aristocratic and was checked by the growth of eight craft guilds, which doubtless developed into a body of influential critics. In the sixteenth century the craft guilds passed beyond the position of critics and asserted their claim to equal consideration. The by-laws, now framed for the city, were drawn up by 'the Mayor and citizens with the advise of the citizens' commonwealth, with learned counsel of the same;' and the approval of the by-laws was given by 'the Mayor and Council with four of every occupation of the aforesaid city.' That is, the by-laws were the work of a joint commission, consisting of the Mayor and Council of the Merchant Guild and four representatives of each of the craft guilds. The fact that this revolution in the civic government should have been quietly carried out is a proof that municipal life had been continuously progressing even amidst untoward circumstances.

Moreover the 'occupations,' as the craft guilds are called, secured for themselves an effective control over the Mayor and Council in the points which most nearly concerned them—the expenditure of money and the admission to civic rights. It was provided that no money should be spent without the consent of four of every occupation; that the audit should be held in the presence of the occupations; and that the common chest should be secured by four locks, of which one key was in the possession of the Mayor, another in that of one of the most ancient and discreet counsellors, and

the two others in the keeping of two of the occupations chosen by the Council. Further, it was provided that 'the Mayor of himself shall not hereafter make any outmen freemen without the advice of the most part of the Council and four of every occupation.' Thus, while the Council was left as the executive body, a check was imposed by the craft guilds upon its arbitrary action.

The purpose of the city by-laws is set forth in dignified language, which shows that the men of Carlisle were not devoid of that consciousness of a mission which is the striking feature of Elizabethan England. 'Forasmuch as a commonalty standeth with sundry kinds of people gathered together, which be of diverse mind and contrary appetites, it cannot be avoided that business shall arise therein unless the same be well foreseen with wisdom in rules and officers. For if wisdom reign in authority, commonwealths cannot decay, so long as they have a brotherly affection among them maintained, justice prosecute vice, and is void of covetousness, having a fervent zeal to the commonwealth and the maintenance thereof.' The preamble ends with the expression of a hope for the new constitution: 'which thing done and truly put into execution shall not only please God, but great quiet and augmentation of the said city, the commonwealth of the same and the inhabitants thereof, shall daily grow with great increase of virtue: which God grant to His honour. Amen.'

The by-laws themselves lay down the duties of the Mayor, bailiffs, and chamberlains, and provide for the maintenance of civic order by many minute regulations. Watchmen are to guard the walls by day and night; the gates are to be shut at nightfall; no Scot is to live

within the city on pain of forfeiture or imprisonment; no Scotsman or woman may walk in the city after the watch-bell is rung, unless they are in the company of a freeman, his son, or servant. In fact it is clear that Carlisle intended to be an orderly English city, having no relations with unruly Scots. No apprentices were to be admitted born north of Blackford and Irthing, i.e. more than four miles north of Carlisle. Provision was made for the markets and the order and cleanliness of the streets. Mastiffs were not to go unmuzzled; refuse was not to lie before a door more than the liberal allowance of eight days; and pigs were not to wander at large. Precautions were taken against forestalling and regrating, that is, against any profit of a middleman or anything which would tend to run up the price of food. The arrangements of the city courts and the method of litigation were carefully laid down. Perhaps the old by-laws of Carlisle may not compare unfavourably with the results of centralised wisdom as contained in the model by-laws of the Local Government Board of to-day. Certainly the city dealt with its own needs in its own way, and the framing of its by-laws must have had a greater effect upon the political education of the burghers than any function which they could nowadays be called upon to perform.

Thus the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth saw Carlisle once more set in its proper place as an English town, and delivered from the anomalous condition of being mainly a military centre. The time was past when Scottish affairs could be settled by Border warfare. It was clear that a policy of harrying the frontier of Scotland did not advance the interests of England.

The temper of Elizabeth and her ministers was in favour of the methods of diplomacy; they saw that England could be more influential by underhand interference in Scottish affairs than by open warfare. Border business was still of great importance, because it gave a large field for diplomatic action. Elizabeth wished to bring a steady pressure to bear on the Scottish Government, to have as many questions as possible for discussion, to find pretexts for sending perpetual envoys, and to harass Scotland by ceaseless claims for redress.

Both countries wished to reduce the Borders to order, and in 1563 commissioners met at Carlisle to amend the existing regulations for that purpose. These commissioners no longer discussed the methods of redressing grievances by international courts, but laid down principles of common action for reducing offenders to obedience to law. Each Warden undertook to hold his court once a month, to pay heed to the complaints of the opposite Warden, and do his utmost to arrest and judge the wrong-doers who were complained of. All landowners were made responsible for handing over their tenants to justice, and anyone harbouring a fugitive was himself to be given up to the complaining Warden. In case of theft the Warden who delivered up the thief might keep the stolen goods for his pains. The pursuit of offenders by *hot trod* (i.e. a general pursuit in which all men were bound to join) was permitted across the frontier into the opposite March, and all who hindered the Wardens in the discharge of their duties were regarded as public offenders. The details of all former conventions were revised and made into a uniform code, which was to be recited and sworn to by

the Wardens at their next March meeting. It was clear that a real attempt was to be made to reduce the Borders to a condition of peace. It was, however, equally clear that it would be a matter of difficulty to secure officials who would be in earnest in the matter. Some years after this we find the English ambassador in Scotland, Thomas Randolph, writing from Edinburgh to one of the English Wardens, 'I pray you that the first good horse that any man of yours doth steal, let me be partner with him.'

In the same year, 1563, a survey was made of the defences of Carlisle, and it is somewhat surprising to find that they had again fallen into decay. Scarcely a generation had elapsed since Henry VIII. repaired the Castle and built the Citadel, yet both were reported to be in imminent danger of falling into ruins. The keep of the Castle was not secure: seventy yards of the wall of the outer ward had fallen; the gates were in pieces. In the Citadel the roofs of the towers had been built originally in too substantial a way; they were too heavy for the walls which had to support them, and the masonry had been forced out of its place, so that the walls were bulging and in danger of falling to pieces. The walls of the city had frequent breaches, and its gates were rotten. This report shows us how great was the wear and tear of the buildings needed for mediæval military defences. There was no systematic supervision, no provision for annual survey or habitual repair. A castle or a fortification presented at a distance the appearance of an imposing mass of masonry; but a close inspection showed that there were many weak places. Really, the strength of a

fortified town was that of its weakest point, which was generally very weak indeed. Any accidental damage was neglected and left to spread; only at intervals, under the pressure of imminent danger, were repairs carried out, and then were very costly. Doubtless the economical mind of Elizabeth was much exercised as she read the report upon the defences of Carlisle; but its maintenance was so essential for her safety against Scotland that Carlisle was again put into repair and furnished with proper artillery and ammunition.

It was not, however, an open enemy whom the restored walls of Carlisle Castle had to repel; it was called upon to receive as a guest the Scottish Queen. After the battle of Langside in 1568 Mary's hopes of success in Scotland were finally destroyed, and she could only save her life by flight. Two days she stayed at Dundrennan, whence her followers implored her to sail for France. But Mary resolved to play a bolder game and try her fortunes in England. She sent a letter to Carlisle asking the Warden if he would receive her in the city. The Warden, Lord Scrope of Bolton, was not there; but Mary did not wait for an answer. She embarked in a fishing boat, and on May 16 landed at Workington, on the coast of Cumberland. Thence she proceeded to Cockermouth, where she was met by Richard Lowther, the Deputy Warden, who assembled a body of gentry from the neighbourhood and escorted her to Carlisle.

Thither hastened Lord Scrope, accompanied by Sir Francis Knollys, whom Elizabeth sent to give her information. Mary had with her some twenty of her most faithful adherents, amongst whom were Lesley,

Bishop of Ross, Lord Herries, her secretaries Curl and Nau, and some of her lady attendants. So hasty had been her flight that she had no clothes save those she wore, and the first care was to provide her with a wardrobe. Elizabeth, with that strange parsimony which at times is ludicrous, sent her 'two torn shifts, two pieces of black velvet, and two pairs of shoes.' We can imagine the jeers with which Mary and her ladies opened the parcel; but they must have felt that such a niggardly gift was of evil omen for the future.

Doubtless Carlisle was stirred as it had been rarely stirred before by the unexpected presence of this royal guest. Lord Scrope was employed to the utmost in guarding the Castle and the city, in watching the approaches and keeping off all suspicious persons. Mary had a body of adherents on the Scottish Borders, who were capable of a romantic expedition in her favour, and the temper of the English Borderers was doubtful. Everyone was excited, and Sir William Drury wrote from Berwick, 'The Queen of Scots' entry into England breeds as much trouble there as it has done in Scotland.' He suggested that she should be at once removed from the Borders for fear of an outbreak. 'Her remaining in Carlisle,' he says, 'breeds encouragement to the thieves and loose persons of the Borders.' Drury distrusted Mary and was afraid of her personal fascination; 'she has sugared speech in store and spares not to deal it.'

Elizabeth could not at first make up her mind how she would deal with Mary, and watched her carefully through the eyes of Sir Francis Knollys. Under pretence of care for her safety she was carefully guarded, though she was allowed to behave as though she were

at liberty. The part of the Castle which had been fitted up as a residence in the inner ward was given up to her, and the remnant which survives still bears the name of Queen Mary's Tower. Her chamber window looked towards Scotland, and might give her an opportunity of communicating with her friends. But Lord Scrope's inventiveness discovered a way of meeting this danger without showing any unfriendly suspicions. A disused postern gate beneath was opened up, so that Mary's window could be carefully watched by sentries who seemed only to be keeping the usual watch at the gate without any display of extraordinary vigilance. Mary took exercise by walking along the terrace which had been made for the use of ladies along the slope of the walls of the outer ward. She attended service in the Cathedral, and occasionally walked in the meadows beside the river, or rode out for a hunt to relieve the tedium of expectancy. Sir Francis Knollys, writing on June 15, gives a picture of her daily life. 'Yesterday her Grace went out at a postern to walk on a playing-green towards Scotland; and we with twenty-four halberders of master Read's band, with divers gentlemen and other servants, waited on her. Where about twenty of her retinue played at football before her the space of two hours very strongly, nimbly, and skillfully, without any foul play offered, the smallness of their balls occasioning their fair play. And before yesterday since our coming she went but twice out of the town; once to the like play of football in the same place; and once rode out a-hunting the hare, she galloping so fast upon every occasion and her whole retinue being so well horsed, that we upon experience thereof,

doubting that upon a set course some of her friends out of Scotland might invade and assault us upon the sudden to rescue and take her from us, we mean hereafter, if any Scottish riding pastimes be required that way, so much to fear the endangering of her person by some sudden invasion of her enemies that she must hold us excused in that behalf.'

In spite of her anxiety these days spent in Carlisle were the happiest that Mary was to enjoy. Her spirits were high, and she had great hopes; she had not yet taken the full measure of Elizabeth, and was full of confidence in her own personal gifts and their influence. She talked familiarly to all around her; she was courteous and kindly, and ready to discuss her own affairs. The neighbouring gentry came to visit her and were always welcome. Knollys felt the responsibility of watching her grow increasingly irksome.

At last Lord Herries returned from London with the unwelcome news that Elizabeth refused a personal interview till she was convinced of Mary's innocence of Darnley's murder. Mary began sadly to feel that her bold policy of throwing herself on Elizabeth's generosity was beset with danger. Her disquietude was soon increased by an intimation that it was desirable for her safety that she should be removed farther from the Border; she refused to go except by the authority of a letter from the English Queen. She was, however, somewhat cheered by the arrival from Scotland of another of her ladies, Mary Seaton, who had the reputation of being the finest 'busker'—i.e. dresser of a lady's hair—that is to be seen in any country, 'whereof,' adds Knollys somewhat grimly, 'we have seen divers ex-

periences since her coming hither; and among other pretty devices yesterday and this day she did set such a curled hair upon the Queen, that was said to be a peruque, that showed very delicately: and every other daylight she hath a new device of head-dressing without any cost and yet showeth forth a woman gaily well. As touching her Grace's apparell, besides divers suits of black colour, according to her desire we have again sent to Edinburgh to my lord of Murray for divers other suits of apparell, and we look to-morrow for return of the messenger. But she seemeth to esteem of none other apparell than of her own.' Murray, we learn, was gracious, and sent 'three coffers of apparell;' but they were not gay enough to satisfy the Queen, and she again applied for the clothes which she had left at Lochleven. Knollys was very much disturbed at this solicitude about clothes, especially as Mary did not pay the messengers who were sent on these messages, so that, he sadly adds, Elizabeth 'is like to bear the charges thereof also.'

Mary was no doubt wise in doing her utmost to stock her wardrobe before entrusting herself further to the power of one so economical as Elizabeth. Indeed, it was the last thing which she was permitted to do for herself. In spite of her confident attitude, she felt at Carlisle that the toils of the net were beginning to gather round her. Not only was she carefully watched, but every precaution was taken to cut her off from her adherents in Scotland. Proclamation was made in Carlisle forbidding any Scot to be harboured within the English Border, and Mary was informed that her safety required her removal farther south. She vainly

resisted a step which was equivalent to treating her as a captive, whereas she claimed to come as a guest. She was only willing to leave Carlisle for some place where Elizabeth would meet her; but of an interview she could obtain no promise. She was at last reluctantly induced to depart by being told that Elizabeth had sent her own litter and horses for her use. Knollys wrote, 'Surely if I should declare the difficulties that we have passed before we could get her to remove, instead of a letter I should write a story, and that somewhat tragical.' Finally she quitted Carlisle on July 13 for Lowther Castle, the seat of the Deputy Warden, who informed her on her arrival that she was to go to Bolton Castle, in Yorkshire, the residence of the Warden, Lord Scrope; and Mary knew without doubt that the time of her captivity had begun.

But although Mary was removed from the Border her presence in England soon created a movement in her favour in a district where she had many adherents. Elizabeth's obscure behaviour tended to help in bringing about this result, and the meeting of a commission at York for the purpose of investigating Mary's conduct did not so much succeed in blackening her character as in setting on foot a scheme for her marriage with the Duke of Norfolk. When Elizabeth interfered to prevent this and summoned the Duke of Norfolk to her presence, there was a moment in which the Duke considered whether he should rise in arms or should obey. He decided to obey, and his confederates in the north, the Earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland, in their turn felt scruples how they should act. When they were summoned to London they took up arms,

but were rather uncertain for what cause. Their attempt to get possession of Mary was foiled by the vigilance of her guardians, who removed her from Tutbury to Coventry. When their first project failed the rebels hesitated, returned northwards, and wasted time in the siege of Barnard Castle. Meanwhile the Earl of Sussex took the field against them; their forces melted away, and the rebel earls retired first to Hexham and then to Naworth Castle, whence they fled to Scotland and sought shelter among the Border clans. Northumberland, who had taken shelter at Harelow amongst a body of Grahams, was pursued by order of the Regent Murray, was betrayed by one of his hosts, and was imprisoned. This breach of Border hospitality, prompted by a desire to please Elizabeth, created great indignation in Scotland, and was probably one of the causes which hastened the assassination of Murray on January 24, 1570.

On the evening of that same day Sir Walter Scott of Buccleuch, lord of Fernihurst, and the Earl of Westmoreland with his followers, numbering in all 2,000 men, made a raid upon the East March and did great damage. It was noticed that 'the chief burners were the English rebels': in fact there was a danger that the Scottish Border should become the centre of a serious movement against Elizabeth. The raids, which both governments had tried to prevent on the Borders, were now renewed on the Scottish side, and the English Borderers at length began to take up arms on their own account. All that had been done to reduce the Borders to order was suddenly undone, and everything was again filled with confusion.

There was one man who saw this with satisfaction. This was Leonard Dacre, who had his own grievances to redress.

The direct descent of the male line of the Dacre lords of Naworth had just come to an end. Thomas, Lord Dacre, grandson of him who had so well guarded the Borders under Henry VIII., left a young son and two daughters, of whom wardship was given to Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk. The fall of a wooden horse, on which he was practising vaulting, caused the death of the young George, Lord Dacre, and left his sisters coheiresses. This was too good an opportunity to be lost by the Duke of Norfolk. He thought that the Dacre lands had better be added to the possessions of the Howards, and consequently married the two Dacre heiresses to two of his sons. Leonard Dacre, a brother of Thomas, put in a claim to the inheritance, to the exclusion of the claims of females. The case was decided against him; yet in Cumberland he was reckoned as the representative of the old Dacre family, and no one thought much of two girls and their boy husbands. Leonard Dacre was willing to join any party which would make him lord of Naworth. He had been confederate with the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, but when they rose he saw that they were doomed to failure and abstained from taking any open part in their movement. But now that there was confusion on the Border he seized his opportunity. Gathering together the Borderers, who were enraged by the Scottish raids and wanted a leader, he took possession of Naworth Castle, which he rapidly put into a state of repair, so that it could stand a siege. He

pleaded as his reason that he was informed of a raid projected by Buccleuch and others upon Gilsland. The excuse was plausible, and shows us how dangerous Border feuds became when England was disturbed by internal dissensions.

The news of Leonard Dacre's activity was alarming to Elizabeth. It threatened a renewal of the rebellion under dangerous conditions. The Scottish Borderers seemed likely to make common cause with the English in behalf of Mary; and if their attempt met with any success at the outset, the men of Durham and Yorkshire, whom Elizabeth had tried to cow by inflicting merciless punishments on such of them as had joined the previous rising, would make common cause with the insurgents. Meanwhile the Duke of Alva would undoubtedly come from the Netherlands to their help the moment that Mary's cause seemed likely to have a chance of success.

Luckily for Elizabeth's throne the Governor of Berwick, Lord Hunsdon, saw at once the gravity of the situation. He was Elizabeth's cousin, one whose hopes were bound up with her life and who knew how much was at stake. His first fear was lest Leonard Dacre's band, which numbered three thousand men, should make a sudden swoop upon Carlisle. The fortress of Naworth separated the loyalists on the east from those of the west; but Hunsdon determined to effect a junction with the troops of Carlisle and march at once to the siege of Naworth. He took three hundred of the garrison of Berwick, raised twelve hundred men from the East March, called to his aid Sir John Forster, Warden of the Middle March, and set out hastily for Carlisle. His movements were closely watched by the enemy,

and when he reached Naworth in the early morning on February 20, 1570, he found the garrison on the alert. They allowed him to pass and followed, hoping to take him at a disadvantage where he had to cross the little stream of the Gelt. But Hunsdon formed his troops, repelled the onslaught of the rebels, and then charged upon their broken ranks. They were men who were accustomed to raids and forays, but knew nothing of regular warfare, nor was Leonard Dacre fit to be a commander. Hunsdon's nucleus of trained soldiers kept his men together, and their opponents were soon thrown into confusion. Dacre at once took to flight and rode off to Scotland. His band was rapidly dispersed and Naworth Castle was surrendered. The rising of Dacre occupies little space in history; but Lord Hunsdon, as he marched into Carlisle and was received in triumph by the citizens, had certainly saved Elizabeth from the greatest peril which had yet beset her.

If Elizabeth was loath to act in time she acted with severity when the alarm was past. Indeed, it was needful that some resolute steps should be taken; for Dacre's disbanded troops plundered where they could, and the loyal Borderers thought that they might lawfully spoil the rebels. A civil war raged round the walls of Carlisle, and Lord Scrope could only issue proclamations which were little heeded. 'The manifest rebels,' he wrote, 'are two thousand besides the Scots,' and for want of cavalry and ammunition he was powerless to make head against them. In the middle of April the Earl of Sussex with three thousand foot and one thousand horse advanced into the Scottish Border to take vengeance on the Scottish allies of the English

rebels. His raid was terribly destructive, and he boasted of having destroyed ninety castles and three hundred villages. The Scottish Border was well-nigh reduced to a desert, and Sussex wrote complacently that he 'had not left a stone house to an ill neighbour within twenty miles of Carlisle.' Mary's adherents on the Border were reduced to helplessness, and Scotland itself was distracted by civil war.

After these stirring events Carlisle again settled down into something like peace and quietness. Lord Hunsdon, as Warden of the East March, did his duty with exemplary strictness, so that it was said of him, 'he took as great a pleasure in hanging thieves as other men in hunting and hawking.' But the general condition of feeling on both sides of the Borders was very inflammable; and in 1575 a meeting for a Warden's Court at Reedswire on Carter Fell ended in a pitched battle between Scots and English. Many were slain, and the English Warden was carried off prisoner. Great was Elizabeth's anger at this breach of the peace, and she refused to be appeased till the offending Warden on the Scottish side was sent to London to apologise in person and promise redress. The persistence of Elizabeth on this occasion, and the amount of angry correspondence which she poured upon the Scottish Regent, made it clear that Border matters must henceforth be treated seriously, and that she regarded frays on the Border as grave international questions. This attitude of Elizabeth did more for the cause of order than did the vigour of her officials. It set a new standard, founded upon international morality, in place of the privileged lawlessness which had hitherto been con-

nived at. By so doing it compelled the Scottish authorities to raise their standard to the same point.

In fact, Elizabeth was more eager to raise a standard of order than she was careful to be always in the right, as may be seen by the next event of importance in the annals of Carlisle. In 1596, the town was the scene of one of the most memorable exploits in the records of Border adventure. In that year a day of truce was held, according to custom. The business was not important, and neither of the Wardens was present, but both were represented by their deputies. The meeting-place was, as usual, on the Kershope burn, and the business was settled in a friendly way. But some of the attendants on the English deputy, Mr. Salkeld of Corby, felt their blood boil at seeing amongst the Scots a noted freebooter, William Armstrong of Kinmont, from whose audacity they had often suffered. The truce compelled them to restrain their anger; but when the meeting was over they noticed that Kinmont Willie, as Armstrong was called, did not return with the Scottish deputy, but rode off with one or two companions along the Scottish side of the Liddel, while the English deputy and his men took their way along the English side. Kinmont Willie had perhaps enjoyed their angry looks and was not sorry to show his unconcern; for by the law of the Marches the truce lasted till sunrise on the day following, that every man might have time to return home in quiet. However the English could not restrain themselves when the fear of the Scottish deputy was no longer before their eyes. A troop of some two hundred pursued Kinmont Willie and captured him after a chase

of three or four miles. They brought him to the deputy, who was unable to resist the temptation of having so notorious an offender in his power; and Kinmont Willie was securely lodged in Carlisle Castle, to the great joy of everybody.

However, Sir Walter Scott of Buccleuch, Keeper of Liddesdale, did not regard the matter as a trifle. He was sprung from an old Border family, and was not like the new men whom Elizabeth employed. He was steeped in the old traditions of the district and resented with great warmth this breach of established custom. To him the capture of Kinmont Willie was an outrage which must be at once redressed, and he accordingly wrote to Salkeld to demand his instant release. Salkeld answered that he must refer the matter to his superior, Lord Scrope, the Warden. Buccleuch was not to be put off and wrote to Lord Scrope, who replied that Kinmont Willie was so great an offender that he could only refer the question to the Queen and the Council. On this Buccleuch appealed to Robert Bowes, the English ambassador at the Scottish Court, who vainly advised Willie's release. Finally Buccleuch appealed to the Scottish King, who, however, failed to extract from Elizabeth any decided answer.

At last Buccleuch's patience was at an end, and he determined to redress his grievance for himself. The words of the ballad may portray the spirit of the Border lord—

> Now word is gane to the bauld Keeper
> In Branksome Ha', where that he lay,
> That Lord Scrope has ta'en the Kinmont Willie
> Between the hours of night and day.

He has ta'en the table wi' his hand,
He garr'd the red wine spring on hie;
'Now Christ's curse on my head,' he said,
'But avenged of Lord Scrope I'll be!

'Oh! is my basnet a widow's curch,
Or my lance a wand of the willow tree,
Or my arm a ladye's lilye hand,
That an English lord should lightly me?

And have they ta'en him, Kinmont Willie,
Against the truce of the Border tide,
And forgotten that the bauld Buccleuch
Is Keeper on the Scottish side?

'And have they ta'en him, Kinmont Willie,
Withouten either dread or fear,
And forgotten that the bauld Buccleuch
Can back a steed or shake a spear?

'Oh! were there war between the lands,
As well I wot that there is none,
I would slight Carlisle Castell high
Though it were builded of marble stone.

'I would set that castell in a low
And slaken it with English blood;
There's never a man in Cumberland
Should ken where Carlisle Castell stood.

'But since nae war's between the lands,
And there is peace and peace should be,
I'll neither harm English lad or lass,
And yet the Kinmont freed shall be.'

Animated by these feelings, Buccleuch sent orders to two hundred and twenty of his men to meet him an hour before sunset at Morton Tower, ten miles north of Carlisle, in the Debatable Land. There he had scaling-

ladders and pickaxes in readiness, and these were bound upon the strongest horses. In the darkness of the night the band crossed the Esk unperceived by the Grahams and cautiously advanced upon Carlisle, where they arrived two hours before daybreak. They forded the Eden below the bridge and halted upon the bank of the Caldew. In the darkness of a misty night they escaped the notice of the sentinels as they reared their scaling-ladders against the wall. The ladders, however, proved to be too short, so the pickaxes were used to make a breach close by the postern gate. One or two entered by the breach and then burst open the postern and admitted their fellows, while Buccleuch with half the band guarded the approach from the Castle gate. The sentinels raised the alarm, but were rapidly overpowered by their assailants, who blew their trumpets and shouted on all sides, so that the startled garrison thought that they were attacked by an overwhelming force and took refuge in the keep. Buccleuch, by means of spies, had gained exact information where Kinmont Willie was imprisoned: his men proceeded at once to the place, broke open the door, and bore away their comrade, though they refused to allow any of his fellow prisoners to share his flight. Nothing was taken from the Castle and no damage was done beyond the rescue of Kinmont Willie, who was carried off with his fetters hanging round his legs. The ballad describes the scene with grim humour—

They thought King James and a' his men
  Had won the house wi' bow and spear:
It was but twenty Scots and ten
  That put a thousand in sic a stear.

Wi' coulters and wi' fore hammers
We garr'd the bars bang merrilie,
Until we came to the inner prison
Where Willie o' Kinmont he did lie.

Then Red Rowan has hente him up,
The starkest man in Teviotdale;
'Abide, abide now, Red Rowan,
Till of my Lord Scrope I take farewell.'

Then shoulder-high with shout and cry
We bore him down the ladder lang;
At every stride Red Rowan made
I wot the Kinmont's chains play'd clang.

'Oh, many a time,' quo' Kinmont Willie,
'I have ridden horse baith wild and wood,
But a rougher beast than Red Rowan
I ween my legs have ne'er bestrode.

'And many a time,' quo' Kinmont Willie,
'I've pricked a horse out owre the furs,
But since the day I back'd a steed
I never wore sic cumbrous spurs.'

When the prisoner had been safely rescued Buccleuch gathered together his band and made for the river. Some of the men of the neighbourhood, aroused by the alarm in the Castle, had assembled to dispute the passage; but again Buccleuch sounded his trumpets and raised a shout. The mist prevented his opponents from seeing the numbers of the foe, and they retired and did not oppose his passage. The band kept close order and rode rapidly through Eskdale unmolested by the Grahams. They set foot on Scottish ground two hours after day-break. 'A cottage on the roadside,' writes Sir Walter

Scott, 'between Longtown and Langholm, is still pointed out as the residence of the smith who was employed to knock off Kinmont Willie's irons after his escape. Tradition preserves the account of the smith's daughter, then a child: how there was a "sair clatter" at the door about daybreak, and loud crying for the smith; but her father not being on the alert, Buccleuch himself thrust his lance through the window, which effectually bestirred him. On looking out, the woman continued, she saw in the grey of the morning more gentlemen than she had ever seen in one place, all on horseback, in armour, and dripping wet; and that Kinmont Willie, who sat beside one of them woman-fashion, was the biggest carle she ever saw; and there was much merriment in the company.'

Indeed they might well make merry over their achievement, which had been well devised and cleverly executed, which had for its end not vulgar pillage but the satisfaction of wounded honour. No one occurrence in the history of the Border vies in vividness and picturesqueness with the rescue of Kinmont Willie, and the fact that more prosaic days soon followed lent additional glamour to this exploit. Still it is said that among the men of Teviotdale the names of those who followed Buccleuch are carefully remembered; and the Lowlander is as proud to trace his descent from one of the rescuers of Kinmont Willie as is a New Englander to count one of the Pilgrim Fathers among his ancestors.

Elizabeth, however, when she heard the news showed that her character was alike deficient in a sense of chivalry and of humour. She took the matter very seriously, and was exceedingly indignant that one of her

chief castles had been surprised and a prisoner carried away from the hands of her Warden. Her ambassador in Scotland, Bowes, was ordered to declare that peace could not continue between the two kingdoms unless Buccleuch was promptly given up to be punished at her pleasure. Buccleuch, when called to answer by the King, pleaded that he had only acted to redress a manifest wrong, for which he had vainly sought satisfaction by lawful means; he had done no damage in his raid and had not gone beyond an assertion of his rights; yet if the English Queen was aggrieved he was willing to be tried by a jury of men of both nations according to Border custom. Again Buccleuch showed himself a thorough-going Borderer, who was willing to answer to a complaint in the same way as his forefathers. But Elizabeth carried matters with a high hand; she would have no trial, and demanded the surrender of Buccleuch.

While the matter was still pending Buccleuch ruined his own cause by committing an undoubted breach of the peace. His attack upon Carlisle naturally revived old feuds, and many raids were made on both sides. A raid upon Liddesdale roused Buccleuch to retaliate; he invaded Tynedale, broke up a body of well-known marauders, seized thirty-six of them and put them to death as notorious thieves. This redoubled Elizabeth's anger, and even the Scots felt that Buccleuch was likely to become the absolute ruler of the Borders. Commissioners on both sides agreed that wrongdoers must be given up, and that as a pledge of good intention the chief men should surrender themselves. Buccleuch was with difficulty induced to comply, and was sent into England in October 1597. He remained there a few

months as a kind of hostage, and tradition tells that when he appeared before Elizabeth she angrily asked him 'how he dared to undertake an enterprise so desperate and presumptuous.' 'What is there,' answered Buccleuch, 'that a man dares not do?' Elizabeth, who always appreciated audacity when she saw it near at hand, is said to have turned to her lords and said, 'With ten thousand such men our brother of Scotland might shake the firmest throne in Europe.'

Notwithstanding these disturbances Carlisle was in 1597 the meeting-place of a joint commission of English and Scots for the purpose of redressing Border grievances and revising the code of Border laws. These commissioners showed a sense that something more than severe laws and armed force was requisite before the civilisation of the Borderers could be accomplished. They recommended that the ruined churches on the Borders of both countries should be rebuilt and provided with clergy, who should teach the people. A great part of the Borderland was at this time without spiritual ministrations. Once a year a priest used to come on his round to the remoter districts and administer the sacraments. In this state of things there grew up on the Borders the custom of 'handfasting,' by which a man and a woman agreed to cohabit as man and wife till a priest could be found to legalise their union, a custom which has survived the circumstances which gave rise to it. The commissioners went on to propose that, as it might be difficult to find clergy who were willing to venture on so perilous a task, the chief men of each parish should give security for the safety of the person and due respect to the office of the pastors. Further, each March

was to have a council, which should act as a jury of presentment of malefactors to the Warden. With a view of putting an end to such undertakings as that of Buccleuch, Wardens were forbidden to ride into the opposite realm in pursuit of offenders, and the obligation was thrown upon each officer to arrest within his district anyone who was denounced as a criminal.

These and other like regulations were doubtless excellent, but their efficacy depended on the spirit in which they were carried out; and Elizabeth was justified in her boast that she paid as good heed to the remote parts of her realm as she did to those near at hand. The example of the capable officials whom she employed on the Borders did much to break down bad habits and loose ways of regarding the law, which were the heritage of a time of disorder. Foremost amongst these officials was a son of Lord Hunsdon, Sir Robert Carey, who dealt resolutely with the outlaws of the East and Middle Marches.

A peep that we have of the civic activity of Carlisle at this period shows a commendable interest in the public welfare. At a court leet held in 1597 the jury recommended that the town beadles be more strict in excluding beggars; that a herd be provided to drive the cattle and swine to the town moor; that greater cleanliness be required in the streets; that the bridges of the city be repaired; and above all that a better schoolmaster be appointed to teach the young. The master of the Grammar School was considered to be inefficient; and the jurors advised that the portion of his stipend which was paid by the city should be withheld and form the nucleus of an endowment for a more competent teacher. It is

noticeable that the citizens of Carlisle took an interest in the management of their school and were more careful of its efficiency than were its official guardians, the Dean and Chapter. It is a fact which speaks well for their progressive and independent spirit. These excellent recommendations probably never took effect, for evil days were at hand.

The sixteenth century, which had seen so many stirring scenes in Carlisle, in spite of all the improvement which it brought, still closed in disaster. In 1598 Carlisle was attacked by the plague and suffered severely; it is said that 1,196 of the inhabitants died—an immense proportion, as we cannot compute the population at more than 5,000. It would seem that this devastation was one cause of the decay which came over Carlisle in the following century, when other causes combined to diminish the importance of the town. The energies of the citizens seem to have been entirely broken by their disaster; for in 1600 the bridges over the Eden, which had been reported by the leet jury in 1597 to be in evil plight, were found to be impassable. They were simple wooden structures which needed constant repair. In those days the Eden flowed in two channels where the bridge now stands; and two low wooden bridges, running from either bank to the sandy island in the midstream, gave the only means of communication with Scotland. Parliament came to the relief of the citizens and ordered that the ruined bridges be rebuilt of stone at the expense of the county.

CHAPTER VIII.

SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY CHANGES. 1603–1715.

THE accession of James VI. of Scotland to the English Crown, and the union of England and Scotland under one monarch, did away with all occasion for international hostility on the Borders. It is true that there was a body of marauding Scots who did not enjoy the notion that their occupation was likely to go, and determined to use their opportunity while yet they might. While James was at Berwick, on his journey to England, news was brought that a body of two or three hundred Scots had entered Cumberland and pillaged the country as far as Penrith. James at once determined to read them a lesson. He sent Sir William Selby, the governor of Berwick, with two hundred foot and fifty horse, and commissioned him to summon to his aid the fighting men of the English and Scottish Borders alike. Selby marched with a thousand horse to the head-quarters of these depredators, destroyed their houses, and took many prisoners, who were sent to Carlisle to be hanged. When the King reached London he issued a proclamation requiring all those who had been guilty of 'the foul and insolent outrages lately committed on the Borders' to submit to his mercy before a fixed date. He followed this up by another proclamation, declaring

his intention to unite the two countries; the Borders were no longer to be the extremities but the middle of his kingdom, and the inhabitants thereof were to be reduced to perfect obedience to the laws. He requested all the Borderers to abstain from outrages and injuries to one another under pain of immediate punishment. To show that this was no empty threat he appointed George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, Warden of the West and Middle Marches, and also lieutenant of the counties of Cumberland, Northumberland, Westmoreland, and Newcastle-upon-Tyne. He gave him a salary of 1,200 marks, of which 100 were for the city and castle of Carlisle, and allowed him pay for twenty horsemen to garrison Carlisle. He gave a similar commission to Lord Home in the Scottish Marches.

It would seem that these measures were effectual in putting down anything like organised raids or forays on the Borders, though they did not at once do away with predatory habits. Still the local conditions of disorder on a large scale no longer existed, and James I. showed considerable resoluteness in his dealing with the Borders. He would not allow the name of the Borders to be retained, but called the district the Middle Shires. He reduced the garrison of Berwick to a hundred men and that of Carlisle to twenty. He ordered all the towers and fortified places, except those inhabited by nobles and gentry, to be destroyed, and bade the gentry encourage the pursuit of agriculture. The result was that the mass of the population betook themselves to farming and gradually abandoned their unsettled life. But the clans who were accustomed to an adventurous life were slow to quit their old habits and were long

in understanding the inevitable change. Popular opinion pronounced itself against them, and they sank from being military adventurers into being regarded as common thieves. They vainly struggled to maintain their position, but the slow pressure of the law drove them into remote districts. The neighbouring gentry and the townsmen pronounced themselves against them, and they became isolated gangs of petty pilferers, in which condition they survived till the end of last century.

This change was not wrought at once; that it came about at all was largely due to the wisdom and patriotism of Lord William Howard of Naworth. He was the third son of the ill-fated Duke of Norfolk, and had married Elizabeth, the younger of the Dacre heiresses. In the partition of the Dacre estates, Gilsland fell to her share; but her husband had great difficulty in obtaining his wife's portion from the rapacity of Elizabeth, who had seized everything she could on the forfeiture of the Duke of Norfolk. He saw enough to convince him that life at Court had no attractions, and he resolved to live on his estate and do his duty in his neighbourhood. In this he was seconded by his wife, 'Bessie with the braid apron,' as she was called in Cumberland, from her ample dower. They dwelt peaceably at Naworth Castle, where they reared a goodly family and lived a simple patriarchal life. Lord William Howard was a man of learning and acquired a considerable library. He spent his time between study, the management of his estate, and devotion to the public good. His object was 'to reduce these parts into civilitie.' He rigidly did his duty in putting down disorder and demanded of his neighbours that they should do likewise. He

brought to his task the capacity of a statesman, and was fertile in his suggestions to the Lords of the Council of measures for improved administration of the law. If the garrison of Carlisle were remiss in apprehending malefactors, if the justices of the peace were ready to connive at malpractices of long standing, if the judges of assize erred on the side of leniency, he called attention to these signs of weakness. At his suggestion the inhabitants of certain districts were ordered to keep 'sleuth-hounds,' or blood-hounds, for tracking offenders; the number of taverns was diminished, and the gentry were made responsible for the good behaviour of their tenants. He was the terror of the moss-troopers, as the malcontent Borderers now began to be called; and Border tradition has represented him as a stern soldier, always in the saddle hunting down marauders. This, however, is a legend of late growth and in no way corresponds with the reality. Lord William Howard's popular name of 'Belted Will' seems to be due to the imagination of Sir Walter Scott; certainly his hunting of marauders was done by legal means and not by force of arms. It was probably owing to the success which attended his efforts for the strict administration of justice that, when the Earl of Cumberland's commission expired, it was not found necessary to appoint another Warden of the Marches, and that time-honoured office passed away. We gain some insight into the opinion of an inhabitant of London from the writings of one of our earliest tourists, whc merely rambled for the sake of rambling and left an account of his chance impressions. John Taylor, known as 'the Water Poet,' because he was a Thames

waterman, made in 1618 a tour through England, of which he has given an account in a doggrel poem, 'The Penniless Pilgrimage.' He tells how he passed from Carlisle into Scotland, and then proceeds to tell us how southerners regarded the Borderland—

This county, Avondale, in former times,
Was the curséd climate of rebellious crimes ;
For Cumberland and it, both kingdoms borders,
Were ever ordered by their own disorders.
Some sharking, shifting, cutting throats and thieving,
Each taking pleasure in the other's grieving :
And many times he that had wealth to-night
Was by to-morrow morning beggared quite.
Too many years this pell-mell fury lasted,
That all these Borders were quite spoiled and wasted,
Confusion, hurly-burly, reigned and revelled,
The churches with their monuments were levelled ;
All memorable monuments defaced,
All places of defence o'erthrown and razed ;
That whoso then did in the Borders dwell
Lived little happier than those in hell.
But since the all-disposing God of heaven
Hath these two kingdoms to one monarch given,
Blest peace and plenty on them both have showered,
Exile and hanging hath the thieves devoured ;
That now each subject may securely sleep,
His sheep and neat, the black and white, doth keep.
For now these crowns are both in one combined,
These former Borders, that each one confined,
Appear to me, as I do understand,
To be almost the centre of the land.

Excellent as this change might be for the peace and order of the kingdom, its result was to diminish the

importance of Carlisle. Depopulated by the plague, it dwindled still more after the withdrawal of its garrison; and the increasing quietness of the district invited many who before had found shelter behind its walls to settle in the country, where villages began to increase. In fact Carlisle began to sink from the position of a local capital to that of a market town, a process which was gradual but sure. In 1617 it was cheered by a royal visit. James I. arrived on August 4, and was welcomed by the Mayor and Recorder, who presented him 'first with a speech, then with a cup of gold valued at 30*l.*, and a purse of silk with 40 jacobuses or pieces in the same. His Majesty vouchsafed very pleasantly the speech and gift, thanked Mr. Mayor and all the citizens therefor and presently went to church, accompanied with the nobles both of England and Scotland. The next day he did keep a feast royal, went again to the church in state with his nobles, being a Saint's Day; where preached before him Robert Snowdon, Bishop of Carlisle; and the Mayor, that day going before him to and from the church, at the court gate kissed his hand at their departure. The third day the Mayor and the brethren took their leave of his Majesty, who used them very graciously.'

It is a simple picture which is here given us. Carlisle had no taste for pageantry and had devised no substitute for the old ritual of the church. Its citizens contented themselves with giving a substantial welcome to the King, who abode in the Castle and found nothing in the city to visit save the Cathedral. The citizens, however, used the opportunity of the King's visit to lay before him some requests which show their sense of the diminished importance and prosperity of the city. They

asked 'to have a nobleman to lye in Carlisle Castle,' as some compensation for the loss of the garrison; also to have 'one of the three sittings of York House in the year to be kept at Carlisle,' as they found it grievous to be driven to carry their important cases for trial to York. Further they asked his Majesty 'for the honour of his name and his posterity to create one university in this poor city of Carlisle.' The desire for a university in the north was a natural expression of the feeling that the district had entered upon a new career of civilisation. The scheme was in the air, and Carlisle put in its claim to be considered as the seat of the new institution. But, though the plan was mooted, nothing came of it till Cromwell founded at Durham a university which did not outlive his rule. When the project became a reality in the present century, Durham and not Carlisle was chosen as the intellectual capital of the north.

The royal visit gave some encouragement to the citizens and caused the old festivals to be more regularly observed. Chief amongst these was a horse race, which was held annually on the King's Moor; the prize was a silver bell, which was held by the winner for a year. Amongst the most notable of the possessions of the Corporation of Carlisle are two bells of this kind, round with slits at the bottom, and holding a loose ball which produced the sound. Both date from the sixteenth century, and one was a gift of Lady Dacre and bears the inscription—

> The swiftest horse this bell to take
> For my Lady Dacre's sake.

The races generally took place on Shrove Tuesday

when all the citizens trooped forth and were joined by the people of the villages far and near, who gave themselves up to a day of rude jollity. There are, however, signs of a genuine desire to put away rudeness, and the citizens of Carlisle showed a growing sense of decorum, due perhaps to the spread of Puritanism. In 1628 it was ordered that the aldermen and bailiffs of the city 'and ancient men of the best sort shall attend and accompany Mr. Mayor every Sunday to the sermon in their best attire, upon pain of 6*d.* for every default.' The sermon was preached by a lecturer in the nave of the Cathedral, which still was recognised as a separate part of the building and was the church of the parish of St. Mary. There the Mayor had a pew and sat surrounded by his brethren, while the preacher delivered one of those lengthy harangues which tasked the attention of the most conscientious listener. To make the presence of the civic dignitaries more conspicuous, the bailiffs were ordered to supply themselves with gowns.

Still, despite these attempts at grandeur, Carlisle to a dweller in the south seemed strangely barbarous. In 1634 three officers, who were on a tour through northern England, give a somewhat dismal account of the impression which it produced upon them:—

'We came safe and well, though well wet, to our inn, the Angel, in the Market Place, in that old and strong city of Carlisle, built by a British king near 1,000 years before Christ; for of these two properties, antiquity and strength, it may chiefly boast, it being otherwise, both for revenues, buildings, and the inhabitants and their condition, very poor. The next day we repaired to their Cathedral, which is nothing near

so fair and stately as those we had seen, but more like a great wild Country Church; and as it appeared outwardly so was it inwardly, ne'er beautiful nor adorned one whit. The organs and voices did well agree, the one being like a shrill bagpipe, the other like a Scottish tune. The sermon, in the like accent, was such as we could hardly bring away, though it was delivered by a neat young scholar, sent that morning from Rose Castle, the Bishop's mansion, which lies upon Rose and Caldew rivers—one of the Bishop's chaplains, to supply his place that day. The Communion also was administered and received in a wild unreverent manner.'

The time, however, was rapidly approaching when Carlisle was to renew its old importance as a frontier fortress. Charles I., in his desire to increase the power of the monarchy, adopted towards Scotland a policy which awakened resistance, and it was necessary to count on the loyalty of Carlisle. In 1638 the city received from the King a charter which gave its civic government an ampler form. This charter, after reciting all former charters and confirming all former liberties, defined the governing body of the city to consist of a mayor, eleven aldermen, two bailiffs, two coroners, and twenty-four chief citizens, who are to meet and make by-laws from time to time and have full powers to enforce them. The mayor, two senior aldermen, and a recorder are recognised as justices of the peace. The royal sword is to be borne before them as a symbol of their jurisdiction; and sergeants-at-mace are to carry maces adorned with the arms of England, in token that the mayor was entrusted with a portion of the royal power.

These signs of royal favour were accompanied by expressions of the royal needs. The gentry of Cumberland were ordered to reside on their estates and provide for the defence of the kingdom. A garrison of five hundred men was sent to Carlisle, and Sir Nicholas Byron was appointed governor of the Castle, with power to call upon the citizens to bear arms for the defence of the city. But the Scots entered England on the east and not on the west, so that the men of Carlisle were not called upon to show their valour; and in 1641 the treaty made by Charles with the Scots provided that the garrison of Carlisle should be disbanded. In the Civil War the gentry of Cumberland were on the Royalist side; and after the capture of York by the Scottish army under Lesley in July 1644, Carlisle, became the chief stronghold of the Royalists in the north. It was clear that the victorious Scots would march against it, and the neighbouring gentry subscribed 500*l*. to victual the town. Sir Thomas Glenham took command of the garrison, which numbered 700 men, when in October Lesley began his siege with a force of 4,000. He seems to have renounced the hope of taking the town by storm, and decided upon the slower method of blockade, posting strong parties at Newtown on the west and Stanwix on the north, so as to prevent the garrison from crossing the rivers Caldew and Eden; while on the south and east he occupied positions about a mile from the city walls. The bridges were destroyed and the suburbs were burned; but the enemy made no attempt to storm the walls, and the garrison could do little save enliven itself by foraging raids and occasional skirmishes.

The siege produced an historian, Isaac Tullie by name, who was a boy of eighteen at the time. His vigorous narrative enables us to understand the fortunes of the townsmen during the weary months which followed. As the weeks passed by and no relief came, the citizens began to feel the consequences of their martial ardour. At Christmas all the food was taken to the magazine at the Castle, and every family was put upon rations. Next came a demand for all their plate and money, and searchers were sent to enter all houses and carry off such valuables as they contained. The silver so collected was coined in a mint established in Carlisle, and produced some 350*l.* The only occupation for the townsmen was to tend the cattle and horses, which had to be hurriedly driven from place to place within the narrow limits between the city walls and the enemy's outposts. 'The horses fed with their saddles, pistols, and bridles, with their bits out of their mouths; when any danger appeared every man put the bit in his horse's mouth, mounted, and drew up for the charge.' Fuel also began to fail, and, what was still more appalling to the garrison, they were put upon an allowance of beer, in which they had indulged to such an extent as to draw forth a sermon of indignant reproof from Dr. Basire, Archdeacon of Northumberland, who had been driven to seek refuge within the walls of Carlisle.

Still the besieged had all the fun of adventurous forays, and admired 'the sweet temper of the enemy,' who were not to be tempted to any rash act of daring, but imperturbably maintained the blockade. On February 16, 1645, a horse belonging to one of the

Scots was shot and carried off into the town. It was so fat that Sir Thomas Glenham ate it at his own table, and Tullie notes that this was the first horse-flesh that was eaten during the siege. In March Captain Philipson managed to make his way through the enemy's line, and went to solicit the King for the city's relief. Charles I. was then at Pontefract, and his fortunes seemed promising; he undertook to relieve Carlisle before May 9, and the gallant Philipson came back with the joyful news, 'which was entertained that night with bonfires and discharge of canons.' At the beginning of April all the fodder for the horses was exhausted, and they had to be satisfied with the thatch of the houses. On April 23 the stock of cattle was almost at an end, and a daring foray was made to Cargo, whence sixty-seven cows were successfully brought back. This led the Scots to advance their outworks nearer to the walls, and to harass the parties who were engaged in pasturing the cows by more resolute attacks, which slowly diminished the supplies of the town. In the beginning of June horse-flesh was a luxury, and hempseed, dogs, and rats were the ordinary food. It is no wonder that the garrison was anxiously expecting to hear from the King if relief was speedily to come, as the soldiers were so feeble that they were scarce able to walk in the streets and could not venture on any more forays. The fate of Carlisle was settled by the defeat of Charles I. at Naseby on June 14. Even when the news was known, Sir Thomas Glenham could not make up his mind to surrender to the Scots; but on June 23 the townsmen informed him that they were not able to endure the famine any longer. A body of women met

at the Market Cross and reviled the Captain of the Castle, Sir Henry Stradling, who happened to be present. At first he threatened to fire on them, and 'when they replied that they would take it as a favour he left them with tears in his eyes, but could not mend their commons.' Surrender was inevitable, but even in the negotiations the cavaliers showed their spirit. They found that a barrel of strong ale had been secreted by a cautious divine, and they used it to make drunk the Scottish envoy who came to discuss terms of capitulation. Next day Lesley sent a graver person; but he in his turn fell a victim to the ale wherewith the officers plied him, while they themselves drank water. He returned to Lesley professing that the garrison was everywhere full of strong drink.

Probably Lesley was not deceived by this artifice; but on June 25 he granted favourable terms, and the garrison of the city of Carlisle, which Tullie, with pardonable pride, calls 'little in circuit but great and memorable for loyalty,' capitulated after a long and brave resistance. The soldiers were allowed to march out with flying colours, and it was stipulated that the citizens were to enjoy all their ancient privileges and were not to be exposed to any fine or extraordinary taxation. It was further provided 'that no church should be defaced;' but this last article was ill observed by the Scottish garrison which took possession of the city. The first care of the new masters of Carlisle was to repair its defences. What had been won by a siege might be subjected to a siege again, and they wished to make themselves secure. When they looked about for materials, the ecclesiastical buildings seemed the most

available quarry, and Puritan prejudice lent a piquancy to the obvious suggestion. The chapter-house, the cloisters, the canons' houses, and part of the deanery were pulled down; and when these did not suffice, the solid Norman masonry of the nave of the Cathedral fell before the pickaxe of the Presbyterian soldier. The gate-houses were rebuilt and the walls were repaired with the proceeds of this sacrilegious destruction. Only three bays of the nave were spared, and the Cathedral was left in its present state of shorn proportions. Eighty-one feet of the nave was thus carried away. In time the ruined west end was enclosed with a wall, and was restored as the parish church of St. Mary. In this condition it long remained, a building of scanty dimensions, having little recognisable connexion with the choir. The canons, bereft of their buildings, had to erect little houses for their own use in the Cathedral precincts.

The fortune of their Church was a symbol of the ruined fortunes of the citizens. Their money was gone, their lands devastated, and they were reduced to the condition of a miserable appendage to a garrison. They had had enough of loyalty, which a northern epitaph significantly describes by the epithet of 'expensive.' But they were not allowed for some time to rest in peace. In October 1645 an attempt was made by a Royalist force to surprise Carlisle, and this attempt gave the Scottish garrison a pretext for raising military contributions. It was perhaps some slight consolation that next year the Parliament resolved to dispense with Scottish help, and the Scottish garrison reluctantly left Carlisle in December 1646.

On the outbreak of the Second Civil War in 1648 Carlisle again became the head-quarters of the Royalists in the north. At the end of April it was surprised by Sir Philip Musgrave, and the troops of the northern counties gathered together in its neighbourhood. The townsmen, made wise by experience, implored Musgrave that the army should not be received within the walls. The Scots, in their irritation against the Parliament, were now fighting on the King's side; and the Duke of Hamilton established in Carlisle a Scottish garrison, which was equally unwelcome to the citizens on whatever side it fought. But on August 17 Hamilton was defeated by Cromwell at Preston, and the hopes of the Royalists were again crushed. On October 1, Carlisle was surrendered to Cromwell and received a strong garrison of eight hundred foot and a regiment of horse. Soon afterwards a second regiment of horse was sent to put down the moss-troopers, whose lawlessness had revived in unquiet times. The men of Cumberland petitioned that these forces should not live at their expense, but should be provided for out of the taxes of the kingdom. They were indeed reduced to the lowest point of poverty, and much of the county was almost depopulated. Parliament ordered that money should be collected for their relief, but this was only a miserable palliative. For some time Carlisle continued to be a Border fortress with a large garrison and a scanty body of citizens; until quiet was restored there was no hope of renewed prosperity.

Still the citizens of Carlisle, however evil their plight, had not lost their sense of civic decency. Already in 1649 the court leet ordered the cleansing of

the town and the repair of its pavements. They enjoined that the sergeants should carry their halberds before the Mayor, and required that the maces 'should be made sufficient.' The aldermen and bailiffs were bidden to provide themselves with gowns and attend the Mayor to church, as in former times. We may, however, conjecture that these injunctions represented the aspirations of the new Mayor and Corporation rather than corresponded to actual facts. Doubtless a Corporation selected by the Puritan general was forced upon the citizens, and tried to show that it was every whit as dignified as its predecessors. Carlisle, without a bishop, dean, or canons, filled with grim soldiers, and the seat of sequestrators who wrung money from the county gentry, was not readily won over to the government of the Commonwealth and gladly welcomed the Restoration. Even after that event it still continued to be primarily the seat of a garrison; but its captain was one well known to the citizens, Sir Philip Musgrave, who had so staunchly upheld the Royalist cause in the north. We need not say that neither the citizens of Carlisle nor the gentry, who had suffered so much in the King's cause, received any compensation from the gratitude of Charles II. Carlisle, with a population of 5,060, including, it would seem, its garrison, was left to settle down in such way as with Musgrave's help it could devise. There were many Puritans in various parts of Cumberland, and the Quakers had a strong hold on northern England. The justices of the peace did much persecuting under the penal acts, without producing much effect. There were threatenings of rebellion, and for a long while Cumberland was disquiet.

The reign of Charles II. is noted as the period when political parties, as we now know them, began to come into existence. It so happens that the history of Carlisle affords an instructive example of the way in which these political parties were interwoven into local interests and took root in local institutions.

Carlisle, as an ancient and important town, was naturally summoned by Edward I. to send members to Parliament, a duty which, with more or less unwillingness, the burghers continued to perform. It cannot be said that any of their members were distinguished politicians, but probably they discharged their office equally well without distinction. Parliament, however, had during the seventeenth century asserted its importance in an unmistakable way, and Charles II. saw that he must contrive to have a majority of the Parliament on his side. Carlisle returned to Charles II.'s first Parliament two safe supporters of the Crown, Christopher Musgrave, son of its governor, Sir Philip, and Sir Philip Howard, brother of the lord of Naworth, who had been rewarded for his loyalty by being created Earl of Carlisle. Even these assured Royalists were still further attached to the King's side by receiving pensions and boons, so that they practically sold their votes. For a time this arrangement worked admirably; but Charles II.'s proceedings made excessive demands upon the patience of his supporters, and the prospect of the succession of a Roman Catholic in his brother James led to the formation of the political parties of Whigs and Tories. The Whigs proposed to exclude

James from the succession, and the differences of opinion on this important proposal created family divisions. Lord Morpeth, the eldest son of the Earl of Carlisle, sided with the Whigs, and in the election of 1681 succeeded in ousting his uncle, Sir Philip Howard, from the representation of Carlisle.

As the Court suffered similar reverses in many boroughs, an audacious attempt was made to reduce them to subjection. A dispute in the Corporation of London was used to raise a legal doubt about its charters, and a writ of *quo warranto* was issued to enquire into the charters of other towns. Judge Jeffreys, of infamous memory, came on circuit to Carlisle, where a packed jury declared that the charter had been infringed. It was accordingly forfeited and the Corporation were driven to surrender it to Jeffreys, who carried it away in August 1684. Jeffreys soon after wrote to the Mayor, assuring him that the King's wish was to grant an ample and clear charter to a city so conspicuous for its loyalty; but when the new charter was sent, it contained a provision enabling the Crown to remove at pleasure any of the civic officers. After this warning Carlisle returned to James II.'s Parliament two Tories, its old member Sir Christopher Musgrave and Colonel Graham, whose brother was created Viscount Preston and was made Lord-Lieutenant of Cumberland and Westmoreland.

Thus Carlisle had been compelled to do its duty; but James II.'s Parliament, even though elected by such means, refused to sanction his proposals for the repeal of the Test Act and indulgence to Papists. It was dissolved, and the Lord-Lieutenants were ordered

to go to their counties and examine the country gentry about their willingness to obey the King's wishes. This did not succeed in cowing the gentry of Cumberland; but the Corporation of Carlisle were reduced to a condition of grovelling submission. Papists and Irish officers of the garrison had been admitted to the freedom of the city, and by their pressure an address to the King—sent down, it is said, for signature by a Jesuit priest—expressed the entire agreement of the citizens with the King's policy, and promised that in the next Parliament 'we shall choose such members as shall certainly concur with your Majesty in repealing and taking off the Penal Laws and Tests, and not hazard the election of any person who hath any ways declared in favour of these cannibal laws.' Yet even this did not suffice to make James II. feel secure, and in June 1688 he used the power conferred on the Crown in the last charter to remove from the Town Council fifteen members.

Thus Carlisle was, so far as open demonstration went, given over to the King's side, and indulged in manifestations of delight at the news of the birth of an heir to the throne. The officers of the garrison made a bonfire in the Market-place and 'drank wine,' says an eye-witness, 'till they were exceedingly distracted, throwing their hats into the fire at one health, their coats the next, their waistcoats at a third, and so on to their shoes; and some of them threw in their shirts and then ran about naked like madmen, which was no joyful sight to the thinking and concerned part of the Protestants who beheld it.' This was the last opportunity afforded them of such unseemly rejoicing. The

patience of the county was exhausted. When it was too late James II. tried to undo the evil effects of his arbitrary measures. On October 17 he issued an order restoring to all the corporations their ancient privileges; and Sir Christopher Musgrave, who had helped the King in forfeiting the charter of Carlisle, hastened to be the first to bring the news of its restoration. He entered the city with a cavalcade, indulged in immoderate signs of joy, and tried to win the gratitude of the citizens as though he had been their constant protector.

Meanwhile, in view of the coming invasion of the Prince of Orange, great things were expected of the garrison of Carlisle, and a ship laden with ammunition for its use put into Workington Harbour. But Sir John Lowther of Lowther gathered his tenants and seized the vessel, so that the Irish garrison, feeling itself helpless, followed the example of the King and stole away, while William III. was proclaimed King by the High Sheriff at Carlisle Cross.

In the Parliamentary history of the reign of William III. Sir Christopher Musgrave and Sir John Lowther both played a conspicuous part. Sir John Lowther took office, while Sir Christopher Musgrave headed the Tory Opposition. The antagonism of these two local worthies was especially contagious in a district where the memory of family feuds still survived. Even until recent times Cumbrian elections resembled gatherings of opposing clans and had a more distinctly personal flavour than in any other part of England. We can trace the growth of this characteristic in an amusing episode. In the election of 1690 Sir Christopher Musgrave abandoned his seat for Carlisle in

favour of the county of Westmoreland, and procured the election at Carlisle of his son Christopher. Soon after the election the feeling of the citizens of Carlisle veered round in favour of the Lowther party, and they could not endure to wait for a new election to give expression to their sentiments. The Corporation, in 1692, took to itself the powers which James II. had exercised; they deprived their member, Christopher Musgrave, of the freedom of the city, and about the same time elected at a by-election one of the Lowther family as his colleague. This matter was judged of sufficient importance to need the interference of the House of Commons. The action of the Corporation was declared to be a breach of privilege, and the erring Mayor and five members of the Corporation were brought up to London, reprimanded by the Speaker at the bar of the House, and ordered to restore Christopher Musgrave to his freedom. As was to be expected, Musgrave lost his seat in the election of 1695, and his place was taken by one of the Howards. From that time forward the influence of the Musgraves disappeared, and the representation of Carlisle was an object of contention between the Howards and the Lowthers. It would be unfair to say that the citizens were not influenced by political considerations; but the opposing parties looked to the two great families as their natural leaders, who had a first claim to be candidates themselves or to nominate such candidates as might be agreeable to themselves.

This political activity did not correspond with any increased prosperity in the city itself, whose population rapidly diminished. The withdrawal of the garrison, which as the country became more quiet was reduced

to a few soldiers, removed one great source of importance. As there was less employment within the walls many betook themselves to the villages in search of agricultural work. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the population of Carlisle was computed only at 2,000, and its general aspect is represented in no favourable light. 'The buildings, mostly of wood, clay, and laths, bespoke the poverty and bad taste of the inhabitants. Most of the houses did not exceed one storey in height and were covered with thatch; they were not painted within or without. The streets, not often trod upon, were in many parts of them green with grass. They were paved with large stones, and the centre part, or causeway, rose to a considerable height. The fronts from the houses were paved in the same manner, the consequence of which was that the kennels or gutters were deep trenches, and stone bridges were placed in many parts for the convenience of passing from one side of the street to the other. These gutters were the reservoirs of all kinds of filth, which, when a sudden rain happened, by stopping the conduits of the bridges, inundated the streets, so as to make them impassable on foot. The lanes and avenues, even the church road, were not paved, and in many places entirely covered with weeds and underwood.'

The trade of Carlisle chiefly consisted in its weekly markets. The articles manufactured were for the use of the citizens and for the neighbouring peasantry, who supplied the town with food in exchange. Besides this Carlisle enjoyed the privileges of a local capital. Twice in the year its fairs were thronged by those who came from both sides of the Border to lay in their stores, and,

what was of equal importance, to meet one another and transact business. The roads were bad, being mostly mere tracks across moorland, often impassable, and always unsafe through the predatory habits of the moss-troopers, who still were powerful. In an ordinary way a Borderer would reserve his communications with a distant friend till the throng of people on their way to Carlisle Fair gave him security for a journey to a common meeting-place, where all the neighbourhood came together. Besides these fairs for the sale of produce there were two hiring days, when servants of both sexes seeking employment came and stood in rows in the Market-place, where would-be employers inspected them cautiously and then retired with a likely-looking subject to the nearest tavern to discuss the terms of a yearly engagement. Further, there were the assizes, which brought the gentry of the county to Carlisle. At these times the judges, barristers, solicitors, and their attendants entered the city in a cavalcade, having ridden from Newcastle under the care of the sheriff. So unsafe were the roads that it was the duty of the sheriff of Northumberland to accompany the judge to the borders of the county, when he presented him with a pistol and committed him to the care of the sheriff of Cumberland. Another exciting time for the citizens of Carlisle was the annual races, which were held on King Moor. Thither went the Mayor and Corporation in solemn procession, and gave prizes out of the corporate revenues.

We have a picture of the poverty of Cumberland in the account given by Bishop Nicolson of his visitation of his diocese in 1703–4. The churches were mostly dilapidated; the clergy always poor, the best of them

engaged in keeping school in their church, without much care of ecclesiastical fitness. 'I was glad to find the curate surrounded with a good number of scholars, though I could have wished them elsewhere than in the chancel and spoiling Mr. Barwis's monument with writing their copies upon it.' 'The vicar treated me with oaten bread and butter, pretty good beer, and English spirits of 18*d*. a quart.' 'The parsonage house is a long row of buildings of clay.' 'The Church looked more like a pigsty than the House of God.' In few cases were there rails round the altars, and the old aumbries were generally used to contain schoolboys' copies. The stipends of many of the clergy did not exceed 20*l*. a year.

The impression given by Bishop Nicolson is one of a rude and poor, but not of a feeble or heedless, folk. Decency and decorum had not yet come within their view with any distinctness; but they were by no means deficient in vigour and were capable of being taught. Bishop Nicolson himself did much to teach them, and is one of the most noteworthy men connected with the see of Carlisle. Himself a Cumbrian (his father was vicar of Orton) he studied at the Cumbrian College, Queen's College, Oxford, and owed his advancement to another successful Cumbrian, Sir Joseph Williamson. Williamson as a young man was taken to London by a Member of Parliament for Cockermouth. After serving for some time as private secretary, he found means to go to Queen's College, Oxford, was helped by the Provost, and after taking his degree sought employment under government. His carefulness and diligence were such that he rose to the position of Secretary of State under Charles II. Mindful of his own career, Williamson

supplied Nicolson with money to travel in Germany, where he acquired a taste for archæological and historical research. He was canon and archdeacon of Carlisle, and in 1702 was created bishop. He had previously published 'The English Historical Library,' which was a critical estimate of the sources of English history, a work of great value and importance at the time when it was written. His account of his visitation shows that he noticed all historical monuments, made them intelligible to vicars and churchwardens, and busied himself for their preservation. In 1705 he published a collection of the 'Leges Marchiarum,' or Border Laws, and saved many valuable records from destruction. Indeed Bishop Nicolson deserves to be recognised as the Father of Border History.

CHAPTER IX.

THE JACOBITE RISINGS. 1715–1747.

CARLISLE was yet again to be the scene of warfare, and played a conspicuous if not a dignified part in the last civil war which has disturbed the peace of England. The accession of the House of Hanover to the English throne led to an attempt to restore the Stuarts. But the Jacobite rising of 1715 was hasty and was ill-contrived. 'A rabble of Scottish Highlanders,' to use the historical phrase, 'and a parcel of North Country jockeys and fox-hunters' hurriedly banded themselves together. However, they drew no recruits from the gentry of Cumberland; it was the neighbouring county of Northumberland that sent forth the Earl of Derwentwater and Mr. Forster of Bamborough on their ill-fated expedition. The Highlanders advanced to Dumfries, and the Governor of Carlisle Castle sent out a small party of troops to reconnoitre at Longtown. The Scots, however, did not think it worth their while to waste time before the walls of Carlisle, which was still a fortified and guarded town. They marched from Longtown to Brampton and thence to Penrith. Meanwhile the Earl of Carlisle, Lord Lonsdale, and Bishop Nicolson summoned the *posse comitatus* of the county, who assembled to the number of 4,000 men. They marched

against the rebels, who with the Northumbrian contingent did not exceed 1,500. However, the men of Cumberland and Westmoreland had no stomach for the fight, and when they came in sight of the foe they ran away in spite of the exertions of their commanders. It is difficult to believe that there was any lack of courage, or that the old love of warfare had so soon died away amongst the English Borderers. It is more probable that their sympathies were really with the Jacobites. Cumberland had been devoted to the Stuart cause, and had accepted, rather than welcomed, the change of dynasty. Its gentry, it is true, had lent their help to bring it about, nor did a single Cumbrian gentleman raise the standard of the Pretender. The Cumbrians had no opportunity of expressing their opinions except in the negative way of refusing to fight against a cause which in their hearts they silently approved. It was left to the regular army to scatter the rebels at Preston, and the insurrection of 1715 did not affect Cumberland except by the discredit which it brought to the valour of its inhabitants.

In the rising of 1745, under Prince Charles Edward, Carlisle did not escape so easily, and passed through the most ignominious period of its civil annals. The arrival of Prince Charles Edward in Scotland was unexpected by the English Government, and was not taken seriously till the defeat of Sir John Cope at Prestonpans on September 21. That event made it clear that he would march into England, and the safety of Carlisle became a matter of serious consideration to its inhabitants. The garrison of Carlisle Castle consisted of eighty invalids and four gunners. The chief force for

the protection of the northern counties was stationed under Marshal Wade at Newcastle. It is a striking commentary on the past history of Carlisle to learn that the old Roman road had fallen out of repair, and that the communications between Carlisle and Newcastle were so bad as not to admit of the transport of artillery. The organisation of the Borders had gathered round Berwick and Carlisle, and the result had been to draw a line of separation between east and west. Carlisle as the capital of the West March had communications with the south, but even in 1745 had not restored its old connexion with the east.

All that was done for Carlisle was the despatch of a skilful officer, Colonel Durand, to take command of the King's forces. Durand immediately made application for a reinforcement of 500 men, but the Government paid no heed to his request and he was left to organise the citizens and the militia of the county as well as he could. This was no easy matter, as neither the citizens nor the militia were accustomed to the discipline requisite in face of a possible siege. Durand's military dispositions for clearing the city walls were resented by the townsmen as involving a destruction of private property. In fact the garrison, the citizens, and the militia represented three different parties, which were by no means in accord and were only kept together by the mediating action of influential men, chief amongst whom was Dr. Waugh, one of the canons of Carlisle. However, Colonel Durand seems to have done his best, and was in a state of tolerable preparation when, on the afternoon of Saturday, November 9, a body of the enemy's cavalry appeared on Stanwix

Bank, opposite the Castle, for the purpose of reconnoitring. As it was market day and the road was thronged with country folk on their way home, the garrison were afraid to fire for a time, and the party reconnoitred in safety. Next day the city was invested by the enemy's force in three bodies but a thick fog prevented any effective firing. Prince Charles Edward received intelligence that Marshal Wade was advancing from Newcastle to the relief of Carlisle, and moved his force to Brampton, that he might choose a position better suited for a battle. On November 12 the enemy had retired from Carlisle, and the citizens for a brief space thought that they had escaped. Nay, the Deputy Mayor, one Thomas Pattinson, who had made himself a troublesome busybody and had thrust the Mayor himself into the background, sent off to London a despatch in which he tried to claim the credit of having dispersed the rebels by a timely show of vigour.

His boasting was premature. Prince Charles Edward at Brampton soon heard that Marshal Wade was not advancing; in fact the movement on Brampton deceived Wade as well as the citizens of Carlisle. Wade thought that the rebels were going to leave Carlisle and advance upon Newcastle, so that he prepared to meet them there. Accordingly, on November 13 Prince Charles Edward marched his forces back to Carlisle, and showed that he was prepared to press the siege. A despatch which arrived from Marshal Wade was interpreted by the militia officers to mean that it was not in his power to come to the assistance of Carlisle, and they began to murmur before the siege was actually begun. When at daybreak on November

14 it was found that the rebels had thrown up an entrenchment 300 yards from the Citadel their alarm increased, and they lost heart altogether. Retiring to their mess-room at an inn they drew up a formal statement, to which the chief of them set their names.

'The Militia of the Countys of Cumberland and Westmoreland having come voluntarily into the City of Carlisle, for the defence of the said City, and having for six days and six nights successively been upon duty in expectation of relief from His Majesty's forces, but it appearing that no such relief is now to be had, and ourselves not able to do duty or hold out any longer, are determined to capitulate, and do certify that Colonel Durand, Captain Gilpin, and the rest of the officers, have well and faithfully done their duty.'

The militia numbered about 700, and the citizens capable of bearing arms about 400. The decision to surrender was made by the militia without any consultation with the citizens, and Colonel Durand's remonstrances produced no effect; they left their posts, threw down their arms, and declared that as far as they were concerned fighting was over. Great was the consternation among the townsmen, and an irregular meeting was held in the Town Hall to decide what was to be done. Deputy Mayor Pattinson was now as eager to secure his own property by surrender as he had formerly been valiant; but Chancellor Waugh stated the question for discussion to be, whether the townsmen would be included in the capitulation on which the militia were determined, or whether they would still hold the Castle. A majority were in favour of the latter course, and in the evening the more courageous entered

the Castle, whither they induced some of the militia to accompany them. But in the course of the night the courage of the militia again oozed away; they deserted their posts, forced their way out of the Castle, and this time drew the citizens also with them. By eight o'clock on the morning of November 15 the Castle was left with only eighty invalids and a few staunch-hearted gentlemen to support Colonel Durand.

The luckless Mayor—for Pattinson retired into the background when no glory was to be gained—was driven to send and ask for terms of surrender for the town, and obtained an answer that no terms would be granted to the town unless the Castle also surrendered. The clamours of the citizens and the obvious impossibility of holding the Castle with a garrison of eighty men, many of whom were infirm, drove Colonel Durand to give way. In fact, if the town approach was in the enemy's hands an attempt at defence would only have led to useless bloodshed and destruction of property. Colonel Durand did what he could to save his honour, and then surrendered on condition that the soldiers should go free. The citizens also stipulated that they should retain their privileges; and the Duke of Perth entered and took possession of the town and Castle.

This cowardly surrender was quite unexpected. Marshal Wade was on his way to the relief of Carlisle when the news reached him at Hexham, and he returned to Newcastle. The way was now open for the rebels' advance southwards, and the possession of Carlisle secured their communications in the rear. London, which had been reassured by Pattinson's despatch, had

scarcely finished reading it before the news came of the loss of Carlisle, and men were filled with alarm. The Jacobites themselves were surprised at their success, and one of their songs has given Pattinson an unenviable name, which may serve as a warning to empty-headed busybodies who are eager for a momentary notoriety. The song-writer makes merry over Pattinson's trade, which seems to have been that of a grocer.

Oh, Pattinson ! ohon ! ohon !
  Thou wonder of a mayor !
Thou blest thy lot thou wert no Scot
  And blustered like a player.
What hast thou done with sword or gun
  To baffle the Pretender,
Of mouldy cheese and bacon-grease
  Thou much more fit defender ?

O front of brass and brain of ass
  With heart of hare compounded,
How are thy boasts repaid with costs
  And all thy pride confounded !
Thou needst not rave lest Scotland crave
  Thy kindred or thy favour ;
Thy wretched race can give no grace,
  No glory thy behaviour.

The Mayor and Corporation cut a poor figure in the days that followed the surrender of the town. On November 16 they attended in state while King James III. was proclaimed at the Market Cross, and further went to Brampton, where they presented on their knees the keys of the city to Prince Charles Edward. On November 18 they again assembled to greet the Prince

as he entered Carlisle, mounted on a white horse and preceded, terrible to relate, by a hundred pipers.

The terms of the capitulation were faithfully observed, and we do not find that Carlisle had much to complain of in its treatment by the Highlanders. In fact, so friendly was their behaviour that the Prince's departure on November 22 was something like a pageant, and men and women flocked from far and wide to occupy the hill-tops and see the troops march past. Carlisle Castle was left in the command of John Hamilton as its governor, with a force of about a hundred men.

Again we have to notice that the conduct of the militia is difficult to explain, and can only be accounted for on the supposition that their hearts were not in the cause which they professed to defend. The Government had neglected to garrison Carlisle, and the men of Cumberland did not see why they should be left to bear the brunt of an attack. As between the House of Stuart and the House of Hanover probably the majority saw very little to choose and a minority preferred the Jacobite cause. They certainly had no enthusiasm for the work which they were called upon to do, and they behaved like men who felt that an undue burden of responsibility was laid upon their shoulders. The more settled and more prosperous district of the Midlands knew that they had an interest in the maintenance of the existing order and would lose by any political revolution. The men of the north had no such feeling and resented the attempt to give them an undue prominence. To them the question did not seem to be a national question, and they did not admit the call that was made upon their patriotism; it was not their busi-

ness or their interest to decide. So when they thought themselves to be abandoned they exhibited a dogged and sullen resoluteness, which was destitute of magnanimity or any sense of honour or obligation. This is to a large extent characteristic of the northern temperament. The North Countryman's head must be convinced before his heart can be moved. When once he is in earnest chivalrous feeling and emotional glow gather round his conviction, and he can be trusted for unswerving loyalty. But, unless a good case is made out in the first instance, appeals to his imagination are useless, and his sense of personal dignity leads him only to an obstinate determination to assert his independence and to make it clear that he will not be put upon. The conduct of the Cumbrian militia was probably largely due to a desire to protest against the conduct of the Government, which sent down an officer to order them about and did not think it worth while to send any soldiers with him. The citizens of Carlisle were animated by some sense of the ancient renown of their city, but when they were deserted by their neighbours they had no choice save surrender.

When the citizens of Carlisle recovered their spirits they did not much like their Scottish garrison, and at the end of November a plan was formed for seizing the Castle. This was betrayed to Hamilton, the governor, who invited the Mayor and Corporation to dinner in the Castle and there made them promise that they would discourage any such attempt. The relations, however, between the garrison and the townsmen were somewhat strained, and Hamilton had to seize hostages, and at last to threaten military measures. All men

were eagerly awaiting news of the fortunes of the Prince's army, which reached Derby unopposed on December 4. Its numbers had not increased so much as the Scottish leaders expected; and though Charles Edward himself was eager to press on to London, his generals shrank from so rash an enterprise in the face of the approach of the Duke of Cumberland's army. It was decided to return, and Charles Edward felt that his chance was gone and with despair in his heart led his forces back. The Duke of Cumberland pursued him, and Carlisle was now a haven of refuge to the fugitives. The governor took all precautions to keep the city quiet and prepare provisions, and Carlisle again received Prince Charles Edward on December 19.

Hitherto the rebel leaders had scarcely been called upon to give an account of their intentions or to take account of their actual position. They had advanced into England, but thought it unwise to risk a pitched battle so far from their base of operations, and had accordingly retired. When they reached Carlisle they were in a place which was their own, and had to face the question whether or no they intended to abandon their only conquest. It was clear that Carlisle could not be held against artillery, and one opinion was that it should be abandoned, its castle blown up, and its stores removed. The majority, however, were not disposed to take so decided a step, and it was determined to leave a garrison which might hold the Duke of Cumberland in check. In the eyes of any prudent man such a determination was a mere refusal to face the actual facts. Carlisle could only hold out till the Duke had time to procure artillery, and there was no hope

of a return to its relief before that was accomplished. However, an able officer and a determined Jacobite, Colonel Francis Townley, volunteered to take charge of the city. Townley was a Lancashire man who had enrolled for the Prince's service what was known as the Manchester Regiment. This regiment, which numbered about 120 men, was left together with 270 Highlanders and a few French soldiers, and Prince Charles Edward spoke some hopeful words of encouragement to the men whom he was leaving to face certain death. Then on December 21 he left Carlisle.

Scarcely had he departed before the Duke of Cumberland's forces came in sight and proceeded to invest the city, which the garrison was hastily preparing for a siege. The ruined ramparts were strengthened by earthworks and sand bags; but the Duke of Cumberland at once took the measure of their resources and called the Castle 'an old hen-coop, which he would bring about their ears when he should have got artillery.' He sent off at once to Whitehaven for cannon, and ordered that batteries should be erected for their reception. Works were begun for this purpose on Primrose Bank, opposite the western face of the Castle, and on Stanwix Bank on the north. The garrison by their fire tried to hinder these works, but their guns were small and their firing was not effective.

Provisions were not plentiful within the town, and the Duke put the besieged to some straits by cutting off the water from the mill-races which worked the city mills. Nothing much, however, was done till the arrival of the cannon on December 27, when six eighteen-pounders were, after much exertion, put in posi-

tion on Primrose Bank. Next day the six guns played against the chief batteries of the Castle, demolished the earthworks, and made it impossible for the garrison to work their guns. During the night of the 28th the garrison made good their earthwork, and next morning could return the enemy's fire; but this was only for a short while, and the result of the day's cannonading was that the wall began to totter.

The position of the besieged was now hopeless, and the governor of the Castle offered to surrender on condition that his men were regarded as prisoners of war. No answer was given to this offer. On the evening of the 29th three new cannon arrived and were put in position during the night. On the morning of the 30th the garrison saw that further resistance was hopeless and hung out a white flag. The Duke sent to inquire what the white flag meant, and was answered by a demand for terms of surrender. A message was sent back: 'All the terms that his Royal Highness will or can grant to the rebel garrison of Carlisle are, that they shall not be put to the sword, but be reserved for the King's pleasure.' The terms were accepted by four o'clock in the afternoon, and the King's forces were in possession of Carlisle on the evening of December 30. The exact number of the captive garrison was 114 English, 274 Scots, and 8 Frenchmen.

The first act of the Duke of Cumberland on entering Carlisle was to order into custody the Mayor, the Town Clerk, and eight other citizens who were accused of being instrumental in the surrender of the city to the rebels. They were all sent as prisoners to London, where they were kept in custody for some time and

were then released without trial. The militia, who were most to blame, escaped all punishment, and probably when the facts were fully known it was not judged wise to look too closely into the matter. Justice was vindicated by the Mayor's imprisonment and vengeance was amply taken on the rebel prisoners.

Carlisle does not seem to have been much injured by the siege, as the firing was wholly directed against the Castle, and the citizens were not called upon to take any part in the defence. But the imprisonment of the Mayor for what was no fault of his seemed a harsh measure, and still more astounding was the use of the Cathedral as a prison for the garrison. It is hard to see the necessity of this act of desecration, which was greatly resented by the Cathedral clergy, who had been conspicuous for their loyalty in the first siege. Chancellor Waugh had been the animating spirit of the citizens, and, inspired by his example, the Cathedral clergy had acted as *aides de camp* to Colonel Durand and had stood by him to the last. The Duke of Cumberland's troops seem to have held curious views about the rights of plunder, and the chief engineer demanded as his perquisite the Cathedral bells; but this monstrous demand was successfully resisted by the Chapter.

The Duke of Cumberland soon pursued his way northwards, leaving the military care of Carlisle in the hands of Colonel Charles Howard, who was one of the Members for the city. Certainly it was an unfortunate relationship to establish between a Member and his constituents; but Howard seems to have done his duty, with the result of displeasing everybody. First he got

rid of the prisoners, who were sent off on January 10 to Lancaster and Chester. The officers were placed on horseback, with their feet tied under the bellies of the horses and their arms pinioned, so that they could just hold the reins; each horse was tied to the tail of the one in front. The common soldiers in like manner marched two abreast with their arms tied and all fastened together by a rope. When they were gone the luckless Chapter was left with the duty of cleansing and repairing the Cathedral and St. Mary's Church, which were in an intolerable condition of filth. Not till after six weeks' work and the burning of much sulphur and tar could they be used for service.

Colonel Howard had further to fit the Castle for the reception of a garrison, and had to billet nearly 1,000 troops in the town, which was left destitute of civil government and chiefly in the hands of the soldiers. 'All sorts of people,' says a comtemporary letter, 'rich and poor, friends and foes, seem equally exasperated, and I doubt with too much reason: for no one thing is done to oblige—nay hardly, as it's said, a civil answer given to anybody. All the common people most grievously oppressed with soldiers, and in the large houses perhaps a single officer; in short, things are conducted in a most strange, confused way.'

The crushing defeat of the Highlanders at Culloden on April 16, 1746, put down the rebellion and permitted the reduction of the garrison of Carlisle, which was, however, only slowly accomplished. The Castle was again filled with prisoners, the French and Irish troops who had surrendered on Culloden field. In the middle of May the accounts of the city's condition were not

cheering: 'Poor Carlisle is much oppressed and little pitied; everything is now growing exceeding dear with us: wheat above 20*s.* a bushel, and I am afraid not likely to mend soon.' However, as the summer went on, the surplus troops were removed; the Castle was fitted up to hold 400 men, and our informant could write, 'I begin to see some little daybreaking of hope that Carlisle will be almost Carlisle again in a little time.'

The city, however, was not to settle down to peaceful ways without receiving a severe lesson of the cost of a rebellion. Not content with putting down the rising, the government was determined to enact a fearful vengeance and leave behind a terrible warning. The chief men of the captured garrison of Carlisle were tried for high treason in London and were executed there; but many who had been sent to Lancaster, Newcastle, and Whitehaven were brought back for trial to Carlisle, where they found a number of the prisoners captured in Scotland likewise awaiting their trial. The total number of prisoners was 382, and, owing to the scanty accommodation in the jail and Castle, these unhappy men were crowded together in little rooms with horrible barbarity. When the trial began on August 12 it was found impossible to go through the formality of administering justice to so large a number. Accordingly the prisoners were offered the option of standing their trial or dividing themselves into batches of twenty, amongst whom one was chosen by lot for trial while the remaining nineteen submitted to accept a sentence of transportation. By this means the number of prisoners appointed for trial was reduced to 127. They were

separated from their comrades and were kept huddled together in one room in the Castle. It was difficult to procure definite evidence against individuals, and the citizens of Carlisle were hurriedly improvised into witnesses. They were summoned to the Castle 'by fifteen at a time, to see whom of the rebel prisoners they could swear to; and many of them were challenged that way, though, they having coats and breeches instead of plads and none, were not so easily known to those who saw them in nothing but dirty plads.'

Many of the prisoners pleaded guilty, and the great majority of those who stood their trial were convicted. The number of those who were condemned to death was ninety-six. Foremost amongst them for his spirit was a Roman Catholic priest, Thomas Cappock, who had been appointed bishop of Carlisle by Prince Charles Edward. When sentence was passed one of his comrades shed tears, on which Cappock cried out, 'What the Devil are you afraid of? We shall not be tried by a Cumberland jury in the next world.'

Cappock was amongst the first batch of nine who were executed on October 18. The prisoners were pinioned in the Castle court, and were seated on a rude black hurdle, with the executioner by their side. At the Castle gateway stood the sheriff, who demanded of the military authorities the delivery of the persons of the condemned. Then the procession slowly passed through the crowded streets of the town, outside the English Gate to Gallows Hill, where the prisoners were hung, drawn, and quartered with the barbarous ceremonies which still attached to an execution for treason. On October 21 six were executed at Brampton, and

on October 28 five at Penrith. On November 16, the anniversary of the surrender of Carlisle to the rebels was celebrated by the execution of eleven others. The heads of some of those executed were set up on pikes over the Scotch Gate, as a warning against rebellion in the future, and Carlisle gates (or *yetts*) formed the subject of a pathetic ballad.

White was the rose in his gay bonnet,
As he faulded me in his broached plaidie;
His hand, which clasped the truth o' luve,
Oh, it was aye in battle readie!

His lang, lang hair in yellow hanks
Waved o'er his cheeks sae sweet and ruddie,
But now they wave o'er Carlisle yetts,
In dripping ringlets, clotting bloodie.

When first I came by merrie Carlisle
Was ne'er a town sae sweetly seeming?
The white rose flaunted o'er the wall,
The thistled banners far were streaming.

When I came next to merrie Carlisle,
Oh, sad, sad seemed the town eerie;
The auld, auld men came out and wept,
'O maiden, come ye to seek your dearie?'

There's ae drap o' blude atween my breasts,
And twa in my locks o' hair sae yellow;
The tane I'll ne'er wash, and the tither ne'er kame,
But I'll sit and pray aneath the willow.

Wae, wae, upon that cruel heart
Wae, wae, upon that hand sae bloodie,
Which feasts on our richest Scottish blude,
An' makes sae monie a dolefu' widow!

There were no further executions in Carlisle, but the condemned prisoners remained in expectation of death till they were slowly drafted off for transportation. In the middle of 1747 they had mostly been disposed of, and Carlisle ceased to be a political prison, but for some years longer bore it the appearance of a military fort. Sentries kept watch at its gates, which were locked every night; its walls bristled with cannon, and its garrison for some years formed an important element in its population.

CARLISLE
in
1815.

AA. *The Castle.*
B *The Cathedral or St. Mary's.*
C *St. Cuthbert's Church.*
D *The Market Place.*
E *The Courts of Justice.*

E. Weller, lith.

London; Longmans & Co.

CHAPTER X.

MODERN GROWTH. 1747–1881.

THE dramatic period of the history of Carlisle is now ended, and it only remains to tell how the dirty and dispirited town of 2,500 inhabitants which existed in 1747 has passed into the neat and prosperous town of to-day.

One cause of the development of an industrial life was the improvement in the communications between Carlisle and the east, which was due to Marshal Wade's precautions. He had found that it was impossible to transport artillery from Newcastle to Carlisle, owing to the badness of the roads, which indeed admitted of no wheeled vehicles, and were only passable for pack-horses. Accordingly, Wade made what was long known as the 'Military Road.' It followed the lines of the old Roman road, and unfortunately led to much destruction of the Roman Wall, which was too convenient a quarry for road materials to be neglected. The citizens of Carlisle were not moved by archæological considerations, but they objected to this new road at first, because its immediate result was to provide a wider market for the food produced in the neighbourhood, and consequently increase the price of provisions in Carlisle Market. But it was soon found that if prices went up because food could be sent to Newcastle, money came from Newcastle

in return. Moreover, the opening up of the road made Carlisle the centre of a carrying trade which had previously passed it by. Hitherto the manufactures of Newcastle had been sent to the port of Dumfries. When a good road was made to Carlisle, the route thence to Whitehaven gave access to a better port on the west.

Before that time there had been little that could be called commerce in Carlisle; but about 1747 a company of Hamburg merchants established there a woollen manufactory, in hopes that Cumberland might be made to compete with Yorkshire. Two brothers—Deulicher—came from Hamburg to superintend the works, and many workmen from other parts came to Carlisle, while all the country folk within twenty miles found occupation for their household looms. At first the business prospered; but after the death of the elder Deulicher his brother proved himself a bad manager and the company became bankrupt, causing much distress among the poor of the city. Other attempts were made to carry on the woollen trade, but they were not successful. A smaller industry—that of making osnaburgs, or coarse linen cloths—proved more enduring, as the new road to Newcastle enabled flax to be imported from Hamburg. But the first important stimulus to the trade of Carlisle was given by a Newcastle firm, who in 1761 set up an establishment for printing calico. It was soon found needless to incur the expense of sending to Lancashire for calicoes, which might as well be woven on the spot where they were to be printed. So cotton spinning and weaving were added to the trades of Carlisle, and have continued to be its chief industries ever since.

A description of the change which passed over Carlisle is given by one who lived through it with a simplicity and directness which cannot be improved upon. 'Before this time,' says Hutchinson, 'day labour for men not brought up to any mechanic trade, and lint or tow spinning for women, was all the employment which could be obtained. Eightpence or tenpence a day was as much as a labourer could earn, and a woman must have worked very hard at her wheel to make a shilling a week. The employment for children was winding pirns for weavers or twisting whips, for which they only had about eightpence per week, and generally worked sixteen hours out of twenty-four. The establishment of the calico manufactory greatly altered the case. The work in the green or bleaching yard found employment for men and stout boys. Apprentices were taken to the several branches of the work at a genteel allowance, and their wages increased as they advanced in their servitude. Little boys were employed as tearing boys to the printers. Women had tables set out for them to pencil the colours into the pieces. Every table employed three or four female children; and even the youngest boys and girls could make near two shillings a week. Such encouragement brought numbers of families out of the country into the city and suburbs, and so great was the change that a common labourer, who probably with his wife's assistance did not make above eight shillings weekly, could by having his family fixed in the manner represented, easily earn twenty or thirty shillings a week.

'The several manufactories began to thrive much beyond the most sanguine expectations. People in

trade, with little to begin with, acquired fortunes which enabled them to live in a much more splendid style than formerly. The town rapidly improved and the land around increased in value far beyond what could have been foreseen. The advantages, however, were balanced by some inconveniences; people of property who tasted not the sweets of a thriving trade began to feel the disadvantages which arose from the increase of population. Before the year 1761 the poor rates were not felt by those who paid them; but the increase of manufactories invited numbers of strangers here for bread. The town was soon filled with Scotch and Irish families; and as these people had no place to return to in case of indigence and sickness they became a great burden upon the ancient inhabitants.'

We have in this passage a brief description of the results of the development of industry and of the economic difficulties which it raised, and which have not yet been settled. Carlisle in this respect is a good instance of what may be called the normal growth of an English town. It owes nothing to mineral wealth and made no sudden stride, but merely responded to the industrial impulse in proportion to its position as the chief town of a large district and a place which was accessible as a centre of distribution. Its communications by sea were further increased in the beginning of this century by the formation of a port at Drumburgh, on the Solway Frith, which was connected with Carlisle by a canal. This was superseded by the development of the railway system, and a better harbour was constructed on Silloth Bay, which has not, however, answered to the expectations of its promoters. The position

of Carlisle made it a great railway centre and gave it fresh importance. The operation of these causes may be traced in the growth of its population. In the most flourishing days of its mediæval and military greatness, its population probably reached 5,000, but in 1720 it seems to have dwindled to 2,000. Its increase after industrial life began within its walls may be shown in a tabular form.

	Population		Population
1763	4,158	1831	19,069
1780	6,299	1841	21,964
1796	8,716	1851	26,598
1801	10,221	1861	29,417
1811	12,531	1871	31,074
1821	14,531	1881	35,884

This may suffice to indicate the economic causes which were at work to change the England of last century into the England of to-day. The history of Carlisle further gives us an instructive instance of the change which passed over municipal institutions and brought about the necessity for their reform.

We have seen that the government of Carlisle was originally in the hands of the Merchant Guild, but the rise of the Trade Guilds had compelled it to relax its autocracy and give them at least a control over its proceedings. For municipal affairs the Merchant Guild remained the governing body, but for all important matters it needed the consent of the Trade Guilds. The increasing importance of Parliament and the election struggles of the end of the seventeenth century introduced another element into the government of the city. In early times Parliamentary representation had been regarded as a burden, not as a privilege, and the mode of electing members of Parliament had been determined by each town according

to its own customs. In Carlisle it would seem that the election had been made by all the members of the guilds, the freemen, as they were afterwards called, of the city. When voters became important personages, and a vote at an election conferred the privilege of unlimited beer, and, it might be, of a limited number of crowns, it became a question who were proprietors of these indefinite advantages. In early times the status of a guild brother was either hereditary or was acquired by a seven-years' apprenticeship and admission into the guild; but in the sixteenth century the Corporation further claimed the right of conferring by vote the freedom of the city on deserving persons. The Trade Guilds objected to this claim, and one of the by-laws of 1561 enacted that 'the Mayor shall not make any outmen freemen of the city without the advice of the most part of the Council and four of every occupation.' This by-law seems to have been set aside in 1687, when we find the Irish garrison of the Castle filling the Corporation and practically ruling the city. But in 1689, when the citizens were left free from royal intimidation, an order was made 'That whereas a great many freemen had been unduly elected by the then new-modelled Corporation, not having the least right to the freedom, being strangers or foreigners, which tended to the ruin of the Corporation, they are thereby ordered to be disfranchised of their pretended rights.'

However, when the idea of tampering with the civic government had once been introduced by the Crown, it was soon found to be capable of extension to the body of electors to seats in Parliament. It was freely adopted by the great families who contested the re-

presentation of Carlisle, and electioneering was rapidly raised to the dignity of a science. When the privileges of a freeman became important there were many applicants for them, and many devices were discovered by which each political party endeavoured to increase the number of its adherents. Each guild had to determine the validity of the claims of those who applied for membership; those whom the guild approved were then presented to the Mayor for admission, at a court held for the purpose, and so became registered voters. Under the impulse of political zeal both the guilds and the Corporation wished to increase the body of electors. The guilds resorted to irregular practices. They called meetings on short notice, packed them with partisans of one side in politics, and admitted members whose claims would not bear investigation. The mayor was often in the secret and, anyhow, was unable to exercise any efficient check. This conduct on the part of the guilds stirred up the Corporation to assert the power which it had previously claimed of creating honorary freemen, and to set aside the by-laws in which it had renounced that power. In the beginning of the eighteenth century the guilds and the Corporation seem to have been in a state of perpetual warfare on this subject, each trying unsuccessfully to reform the malpractices of the other. The Corporation from time to time admitted as freemen members of the county families, the Howards, Musgraves, and Lowthers, who were thus able to influence civic matters from within and give a more decidedly political character to municipal affairs.

In 1750 the Corporation was worsted for a time and bound themselves to make no more honorary free-

men. They were driven to this concession because 'the city's revenues had of late years been greatly misapplied and lessened.' This was partly due to mismanagement of the civic property, and partly to a lawsuit which deprived them of the right to compel the inhabitants to grind their malt only at the city mills. The guilds pursued their victory and brought another suit against the Corporation about their management of Kingmoor. It would seem that they went too far, for the suit was compromised; and immediately after, in 1759, an order was made that 'the Common Council should have authority to make freemen as they had immemorially enjoyed it, and of right ought.' The reason given for this sudden change was 'that it hath been found inconvenient to exclude from the Corporation persons of wealth, probity and distinction, who might be useful to it.'

These lofty aspirations after good government by independent persons were merely due to necessity, and were prompted by a schemer who was bent on using the distress of the Corporation for his own purposes. The only result of the new order was to confer the freedom of the city on Sir James Lowther and one of his friends; then at once the old by-law was again enacted and no more freemen were admitted. Sir James Lowther was engaged in earning an earldom by his parliamentary influence, and probably carried the art of manipulating constituencies to a higher pitch of perfection than anyone else reached. He steadily pursued his object till he was absolute master of ten seats in the House of Commons, and as a reward of his skill was created Earl of Lonsdale in 1784. With his

doings elsewhere we are not concerned; but his dealings with Carlisle may serve as a sample of his adroitness. Having gained admission into the Corporation he closed the doors to others, fomented disputes, took the side of the guilds, posed as a reformer and made himself absolute master. As a reformer he did good service to the City; for he overhauled the accounts, exposed past mismanagement, invited popular criticism and introduced a better state of things. Following old precedent, he established his tyranny on a popular basis. He discredited the former government of the city and filled the Corporation with nominees of his own.

It must be admitted that he was in no hurry to unfold his policy. He waited his time and then acted with masterly simplicity. On October 28, 1784, the Corporation, acting on his orders, repealed all by-laws limiting their rights to make freemen, and all orders requiring their previous admission into a guild. On October 30 they created 1,195 freemen, of whom 500 were colliers in the employment of the Earl of Lonsdale. The result was that when a vacancy occurred in the representation of Carlisle in 1786, John Lowther, a cousin of Lord Lonsdale, was declared to be elected, having polled 107 of the old freemen and 461 of the 'mushrooms,' as the new electors were called, while his opponent received the votes of 422 of the old electors. On a petition to the House of Commons Lowther was unseated, but no decision was given about the right of honorary freemen to vote. However in the course of the year there was another election, and the question was again raised in the same way. This time the Committee of the House of Commons laid down 'That the

right of election for the city of Carlisle is in the freemen of the said city, duly admitted and sworn freemen of the said city, having been previously admitted brethren of one of the eight guilds or occupations of the said city, and deriving their title to such freedom by being sons of freemen, or by service of seven years' apprenticeship to a freeman, resident during such apprenticeship within the said city, and in no others.'

This decision was upheld and put an end to the attempt to convert Carlisle into a pocket-borough. Its consequence was to bring about a compromise that the Lowther family should dispose of one seat for Carlisle and the Howards of the other. This compromise, adopted in 1802, led to some rebellions, but on the whole prevailed till the struggle for the Reform Bill gave a new meaning to local politics. The elections at Carlisle were, however, somewhat disorderly, and were frequently marked by riotous conduct. As the population grew, many of the freemen were weavers, who suffered from variations of trade, and freely expressed their discontent. In 1826, Sir Philip Musgrave, the Tory candidate, was beset by a body of weavers during his canvass, and was forced to flee into a house where the owner gave him shelter, only on condition that he should sit down and work at the loom, to improve his practical experience of the life led by many of his constituents. The Mayor went to quell the riot, accompanied by all the civil force of the town, namely, two constables. The mob seized the Mayor and ducked the constables, whereupon the soldiers of the garrison were called to their assistance, and there was some bloodshed. Next day, the arrival of the Liberal candidate, Sir

James Graham of Netherby, led to renewed rioting. As a precautionary measure, a body of cavalry had been stationed near the town by the orders of the Mayor. This caused great indignation among the people, and the Mayor, losing his head, denied that they were there. When their presence was discovered, the mob rushed upon the Mayor, who was only saved by Sir James Graham. Terror brought on a fit of apoplexy, which for some days threatened the Mayor's life. Finally, the tumult was appeased by Sir James Graham, who arranged that the cavalry should withdraw to a distance of four miles from the city. The whole matter is a sample of civic incapacity. It was ridiculous that Carlisle, with a population of 16,000, should only have two constables; but the Corporation had steadily refused to increase the number, on the ground that the presence of a garrison within the city was a sufficient guarantee for the maintenance of order. They disregarded the fact that military interference is more likely to create than to allay a disturbance amongst Englishmen.

In the struggle for the Reform Bill, Carlisle was strongly on the Whig side. The passing of the Reform Act and the Municipal Corporations Act swept away from Carlisle, as elsewhere, most of the distinguishing features of its municipal history. The freemen still survived by the side of the household voters, but their exclusive power was abolished and they represented only the most corruptible part of the constituency. Our own day has seen their entire abolition, and there is now little left in the municipal organisation ot English towns to tell of their past vicissitudes.

Besides its growth in industrial and political

activity, Carlisle was also important as the capital of a rich agricultural district. The mediæval history of the Border counties accounts for the growth of a sturdy and industrious peasantry with strongly marked characteristics. The long period of Border warfare had the practical result of making most of the dwellers on the Border masters of the land which they defended with their sword. Whatever may have been the theoretical rights of the superior lords in early times, all traces of these rights vanished in many districts, and the claim of military service rested upon the instinct of self-preservation rather than on the power of the lord to enforce it. In the sixteenth century we find Cumberland divided between great landlords and a number of small freeholders, who with the help of their family tilled their farms of fifty, sixty, or a hundred acres. Amongst these 'statesmen' some were provident and some were improvident. Some let their lands slip from them, and others added farm to farm, till the landed class presented every degree of social status. The gradations were so imperceptible that social distinctions had little room to grow up. There was a general equality between man and man, a perfect freedom of intercourse, and a strong sense of personal dignity and independence.

Of this agricultural population Carlisle was the centre, and in many ways the capital. The families of the well-to-do yeomen took lodgings in Carlisle for the winter months, and on their return home detailed their doings to their neighbours at the 'merry nights,' as the convivial gatherings in the farmhouses were called. There the old played cards in the parlour and the

gossips gathered in the kitchen, while the young danced in the loft to the strains of a wandering fiddler and the pairs of lovers sought in remote corners an opportunity for their bashful courtship. There was a unity of social life, which made each locality self-contained, and those who went to Carlisle for purposes of trade still clung to the traditions of their native place. The life of the labouring classes, simple and even coarse, was an object of interest to their betters, and great freedom of speech prevailed where class distinctions were so slightly recognised.

The result of this was that Carlisle became the centre of a strong provincial literature which was racy of the humours of country life. Susanna Blamire, of Thackwood (1747–94), and her friend Catherine Gilpin, of Scaleby Castle (1738–1811), gave the highest poetical expression to the simple sentiments of the country folk, as seen and felt by ladies of refined mind and cultivated sense. But they were not authors of set purpose; their fugitive writings, thrown off at the request of friends, have been with difficulty brought together, and perhaps their slightness lends them an additional charm. They are excellent samples of the Cumbrian dialect, and show that mixture of shrewdness and stolidity which always characterises the peasant.

The work of these ladies awakened an echo amongst the people themselves, and Carlisle produced its own bard in Robert Anderson, who was born in 1770, was brought up at a charity school, and at the age of ten went to work as a calico printer with a wage of eighteenpence a week. He went to London in pursuit of his employment, and became a poet through disgust at the mock

pastoral songs which he heard sung at Vauxhall Gardens. He led a wandering life, returned to Carlisle, fell into habits of intemperance, and died in 1833. He was not a great poet because he had not a lofty soul; but he is intensely Cumbrian and draws a vivid picture of the actual life of the Cumbrian peasantry. Their drinking bouts, their uncouth gallantry, their rural festivities, the humours and adventures of Carlisle Fair, and suchlike scenes are set forth with a keen relish and with the force of truth. The pathos, the nobility, and the aspirations of the higher nature scarcely ever come within Anderson's view; his limits are narrow, but within his limits his hand is firm. He shows, what is historically interesting, the strong feeling of love to the soil which had been the bequest of the past. Cumbrians, when Border warfare was over and moss-trooping days had passed away, still felt that they were not as other men are, and the men of Carlisle claimed to be citizens of no mean city. Let Anderson set forth their boasting and the reason of it.

Yer buik-larn'd, wise gentry, that's seen monie counties,
  May preach and palaver and brag as they will
O' mountains, lakes, valleys, woods, watters, and meadows,
  But canny auld Cummerlan' caps them aw still;
It's true we've nea palaces shinin' amang us,
  Nor tall marble towers to catch the weak eye;
But we've monie fine castles, whoar fit our brave fadders
  When Cummerlan' could any country defy.

. . . . . .

We help yen anudder; we welcome the stranger;
  Ourselves and our country we'll ever defend;
We pay bits o' taxes as weel as we're yable
  And pray, like true Britons, the war hed an end.

Then, Cummerlan' lads, and ye lish rwosy lasses,
If some caw ye clownish ye needn't think sheame ;
Be merry and wise, enjoy innocent pleasures,
And aye seek for health and contentment at heame.

The growth of industrial life and the increase of population have done much to sweep away the traces of historic antiquity from the appearance of Carlisle of to-day. This indeed was inevitable, for apart from its military and ecclesiastical buildings there was little in Carlisle that was built for permanence, and its squalid hovels necessarily made way for modest but substantial houses. This was done gradually without disturbing the old lines of the streets, so that the ancient aspect of the town can still be clearly recalled, though the walls have disappeared, and modern suburbs run into the old town without a break. Yet still the traveller who approaches Carlisle by rail finds himself, when he leaves the railway station, entering the city near the old English Gate. His road lies between two turrets with curtain walls, which, modernised as they are, still represent the Citadel that Henry VIII. erected. They are now used as court houses, and were remodelled for their present purposes early in this century, but the eastern tower retains much of the ancient masonry. The names of English Street and Scotch Street, which mark the two principal streets, still tell that Carlisle was the Border city, while Castle Street and Tower Street tell of its martial past. The streets which extend beyond the limits of the walls bear the names of the gates to which they led, Rickergate, Botchergate, and Caldewgate. The main streets converge upon the

spacious Market-place, which followed the triangular shape of the old town, and by its spaciousness bears witness to the importance of Carlisle as a market town. In the middle of it stands the old Market Cross; and on the north side lies the Town Hall, a plain building of the middle of last century, showing by its modesty the humility of the burghers of Carlisle at the time when it was built. It is a strong proof of the good sense of their successors that they have resisted the temptation to replace it by a more pretentious structure, and are satisfied with adapting to their present needs this interesting memorial of a homely past.

Behind the Town Hall lies the Guildhall, a good specimen of an Edwardian timbered building. Besides these two structures there is little else in the streets of Carlisle which dates from old times, and probably there was little else that was worth preserving. There are also very few of the substantial houses of last century, which, in midland towns, bear such a striking testimony to the beginning of commercial prosperity. Carlisle struggled into industrial life in a small way, and rather shows a general increase in well-being than the growth of a moneyed class. There is a remarkable uniformity of scale, as if the rich man did not think it becoming to flaunt his riches in the eyes of his fellow-citizens, but retired outside the town if he wished to be smarter than his neighbours.

The line of the city wall is still easy to be traced, though the wall itself has disappeared, save on the western side, where it rose on a hill above the Caldew. But the railway now runs immediately below; and, though a walk lies along the old rampart, the wall

itself is only visible to one who leans over the parapet and gazes down below.

In ecclesiastical buildings Carlisle has little to show except the Cathedral, the nave of which was in old times the church of one of the two parishes into which Carlisle was divided. The Cathedral seems to have absorbed all the architectural energy of the citizens, for the church of the other ancient parish, dedicated to St. Cuthbert, never seems to have been a building of much importance. It was frequently rebuilt upon its present site, and the existing structure dates from 1778. The other churches of the city are modern, and have been erected during the present century to keep pace with the requirements of an increasing population.

The Cathedral stands out boldly, free from intrusive buildings, which have not been allowed to encroach upon the precincts of the old abbey. Of the monastic buildings the gateway still remains, erected by one of the last priors in 1528. The Refectory, a noble building of 1480, has lately been rescued from neglect and restored as a stately library. The Deanery contains as its nucleus the prior's house, and is adorned by a low tower, which still lends it an air of mediæval dignity. Of the cloisters and chapter house only faint traces remain. The Cathedral with its truncated nave still tells the story of the havoc wrought by the Great Rebellion, and its squat central tower is not without its reminiscence of a Border peel, with a turret at one corner for a beacon fire.

The contrast between the Norman nave and the later choir and transepts is not only marked by the difference in style and in the height of the two parts,

but is still more strongly accentuated by difference of colour. The old building is of grey freestone; the later builders preferred the warmth of red sandstone. The Cathedral has been carefully restored, and its interior, besides its architectural features, contains many interesting traces of its original decoration, especially the choir screen, which is adorned by a series of pictures narrating the lives of saints. Recent times have seen one change, which the antiquary may be allowed to regret purely on historical grounds. The nave of the cathedral was found to be too small in its curtailed dimensions for the needs of the parish of St. Mary, and a new church was built under the shadow of the cathedral. The wall which separated the nave from the transepts has been thrown down, and the relic of the Norman Church has been incorporated with the main building. Doubtless this is an architectural gain to the Cathedral, and no less a gain to the parish, but it has destroyed an interesting example of a double church, and has robbed Carlisle of one of its distinctive features.

The Castle, however, is the great monument of Carlisle, and was the scene of the most stirring events which we have recorded. It still wears its old features, and the main lines of its architecture and arrangement are still clear. A glance at its position shows that it is practically a survival from the most primitive times of the history of the town, for its plan is that of a head-land turned into a camp by a ditch cut across. It is of triangular shape; on two sides the rock descends steeply; on the third side, which faces the town, a defence has been found in a deep ditch. The entrance

from the town leads first into an open space, outside the main enclosure, but surrounded with walls, on one of which is built the tower which bears the name of King Richard III. In front, the entrance to the castle itself is over the old drawbridge and the ditch, on the side of which is the walk laid out for the ladies who should chance to make their residence within the frowning walls. The gatehouse is entered, not in the middle, but on one side, and forms a sort of barbican with an outer and inner door, both of which were furnished with a portcullis. The gate-house admits into the spacious outer ward, of which the curtain wall is defended only by a single tower. Unfortunately the outer court has been disfigured by modern buildings, constructed early in this century for the accommodation of a garrison. The eastern side, which forms the apex of the triangle, is girt by another wall, which encloses the inner ward in which stands the keep. It is entered by a massive gateway, secured at each end by a door; its ditch, drawbridge, and protecting battery are all gone, and the ground has been levelled. The keep still retains the stern simplicity of its original Norman workmanship. It is now a building of three storeys, and has been much altered from its original condition, but still retains its original character. The great hall and other domestic buildings, which arose in the time when men wished to combine some of the pleasures of ordinary life with the necessities of military defence, have been almost entirely destroyed, and unsightly outhouses stand upon their site. A fragment of panelled work, part of the shell of a grand staircase, is all that remains of the buildings which Edward I. inhabited, and where Queen

Mary of Scotland whiled away her days of weary expectation. The ramparts which run round the outer wall of this inner court have been altered so as to carry cannon. But from them we can still look down on the meadow which lies between the Castle rock and the river, where Mary Queen of Scots watched games of football, where Buccleuch's band carried off Kinmont Willie, where the beleaguered garrison of 1644 pastured their cattle with their hands upon their guns. On the opposite bank the village of Stanwix marks the site of the Roman military station; and the road beyond, which leads to Scotland, must have been scanned through many long years by many a watchful eye. The tract of country over which the eye gazes from the ramparts of Carlisle Castle is rich in memories of the past, and tells, as no other landscape tells, of that phase in our national history which these pages have endeavoured to recall. The title of 'the Border City' has little meaning at the present day; but the view from the walls of Carlisle Castle can teach a stranger to understand how profound are the feelings which it awakens among a folk tenacious above all others of old memories, because they are proud of the strong sense of personal independence which has its roots in an historic past.

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